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DECEMBER 1, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

SPECIAL REPORT: What Now For Republicans?

NEGROES INTELLIGENCE & PREJUDICE

1 What has science proved concerning the equality of intelligence?

2 How important is intelligence?

3 What about integrated schools?

BY ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

Also In This Issue:

LEADING CONSERVATIVES DISCUSS THE FUTURE

♦ James Burnham ♦ George Bush ♦ Russell Kirk

♦ John Davis Lodge ♦ Gerhart Niemeyer ♦ Ronald Reagan

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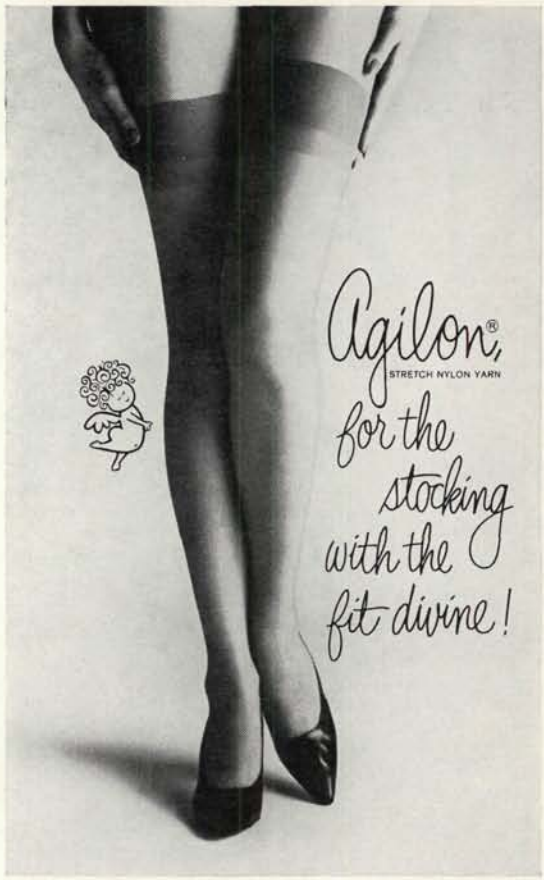

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔we publish replies by a distinguished group of public figures to the question, What is the future of the conservative movement within the GOP? The first commentary is by Mr. **George Bush** (son of former Senator Prescott Bush), who conducted a brilliant campaign in Texas and, although he lost, got more votes than have ever been given to anyone running under the Republican label in the history of Texas. He got these votes, moreover, even while identifying himself as in sympathy with most of the positions taken nationally by Senator Goldwater. . . . **John Davis Lodge** was defeated in Connecticut, where he ran against a very popular anti-Communist, and occasional contributor to NATIONAL REVIEW, Senator Thomas Dodd. Mr. Lodge was formerly governor of Connecticut, and—perhaps his finest hour—a superb ambassador to Spain during the Eisenhower years. He is an eloquent advocate of a free market economy, and an unsentimental viewer of the Communist threat. . . . **Gerhart Niemeyer,** professor of political science at Notre Dame, served on Senator Goldwater's foreign policy task force, under the chairmanship of Richard Nixon, and gives us encouraging words to live by. . . . **Ronald Reagan** was the star in probably the most successful single political broadcast since Mr. Nixon's Checkers speech of twelve years ago. So much so that the Republican Party rebroadcast his speech on coast-to-coast television a half-dozen times. His career as an actor is well-known. There are those who believe he should campaign two years hence for the governorship of California. Including us. . . . **James Burnham** writes from Ireland (where he witnessed the marriage of his oldest son, James—an occasional contributor to the book review section—to a colleen), and asks whether the Republican Party is the only vehicle through which conservatives can work. . . . Mr. **Frank Meyer** offers words of consolation and advice. . . . and Mr. **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn,** who is here on his fall lecture trip, analyzes the results of the election from the point of view of a European.

➔Professor **Ernest van den Haag** asks, and suggests a few tentative answers to, a series of vexing questions relating to Negroes, prejudice, and intelligence. Professor van den Haag, well known to our readers, is a frequent contributor to the scholarly journals, as also to journals of the Left, including *Commentary* and *Dissent.* He is a practicing psychoanalyst, a teacher of sociology, and author of several distinguished books.

➔**Joan Didion** (Mrs. John Gregory Dunne) reviews enthusiastically Richard Whalen's book on Joseph P. Kennedy. . . . **James Jackson Kilpatrick** greatly enjoyed *Dialogues in Americanism,* a record of three public debates between conservatives and Liberals. . . . **Francis Russell,** brought up on Chaplin two-reelers, doesn't find very much interesting in Mr. Chaplin's autobiography. . . . Professor **Douglas J. Stewart,** who has joined the classics department of Emory College in Atlanta, Georgia, reviews the latest volume by Mr. John Dos Passos. . . . Professor **Thomas Molnar** is greatly exasperated by the superficiality of Teilhard de Chardin. . . . And the great **Theodore Sturgeon** identifies the latest accomplishments of the s-f set.➔

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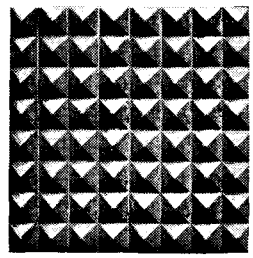

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To the Editor

November 3

Liberals in both parties are already saying that the election result is a repudiation of conservatism. I believe it is the No. 1 job of all conservatives in the next four years to prove that this isn't so. To get that message across, NATIONAL REVIEW is needed more than ever.

With every good wish for your continued success.

McLean, Va. J. R. GRAHAM

The election is over and that "just folks" feller from the range down Texas way has been elected, y'all.

With "mandate" in hand he is going to herd the nation's sheep into his Great Society Corral, whereupon they will be socialized with the LBJ-HHH brand.

Wonder what's going to happen to the mavericks?

San Francisco, Cal. DANIEL R. LANN

The catastrophe of November 3rd was actually the last gasp of the dying, inarticulate GOP Old Guard rather than the defeat of modern conservatism.

The alliance between the younger conservatives, who are skilled exponents of their philosophy, and the Old Guardsmen who ran the campaign, has been uneasy at best.

A new generation of articulate young conservatives, who can handle a hostile press and write speeches in which generalities are tied in the same phrase to specifics, will arise and triumph.

Oakland, Calif. RICHARD S. WHEELER

A few remarks concerning the November 3 "tragi-comedy" via Bartlett's and Briarcliff College:

O! What authority and show of truth
Can cunning sin cover itself withal!
—Shakespeare

O! That deceit should dwell in such a gorgeous palace!
—Shakespeare

If you shed tears when you miss the sun
You also miss the stars.
—Navajo proverb

ELIZABETH ANN HARRIS
DEE DANGLER
Briarcliff Manor, N.Y. GINGER BOOTH

(Continued on p. 1077)

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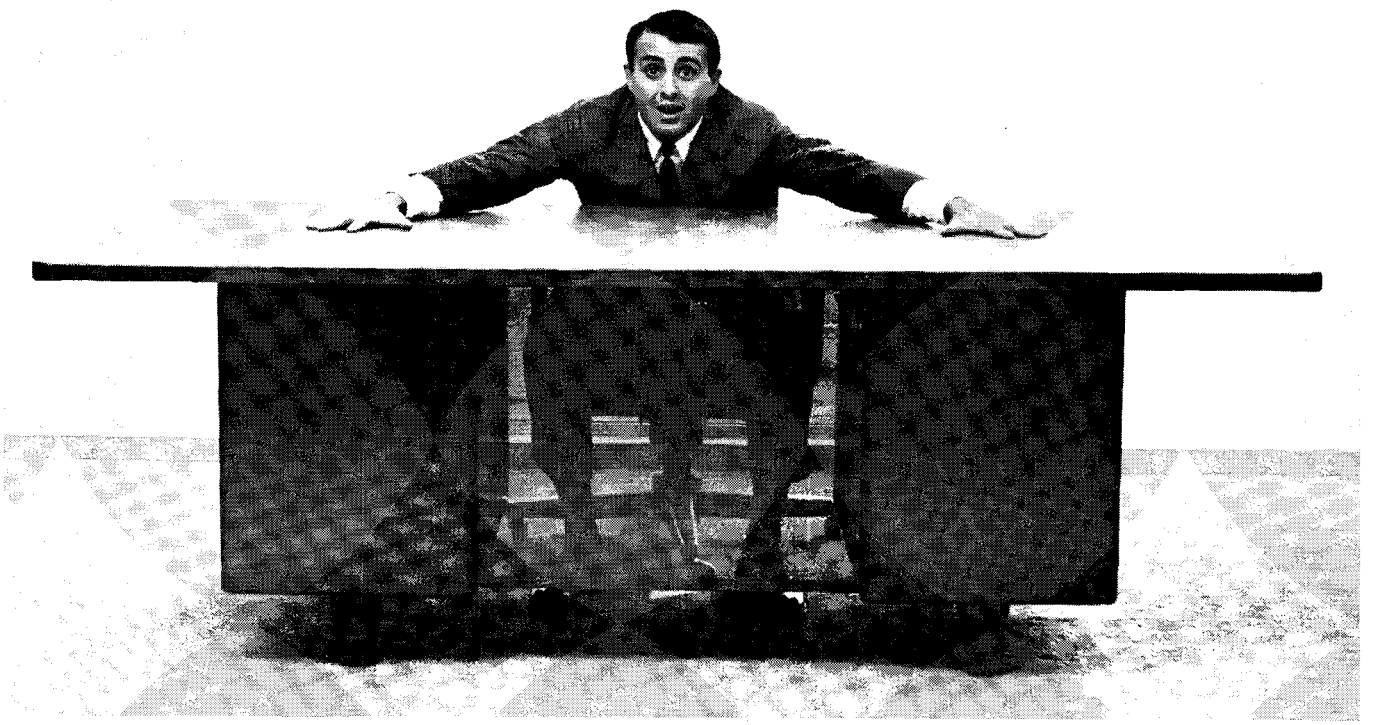

What would happen if an elephant walked into your office this morning and stepped on your McDowell/Craig desk?

You would probably be frightened out of your wits.

But your McDowell/Craig desk would take it in stride.

McDowell/Craig desks are styled in steel. So an elephant can't do much to harm them. Neither can you. Bang them, bump them, thump them, beat them. And they still come out looking beautiful.

Just because our desks are so tough, don't think that they're nothing but a big hunk of undesigned iron. They're designed. Well designed. Notice the absence of gegaws and odd projections on the desk above. It looks comfortable. And it is.

You can work behind this desk (or any McDowell/Craig desk) for a full day.

And when you get up to leave you won't feel as though you've been stepped on by an elephant.

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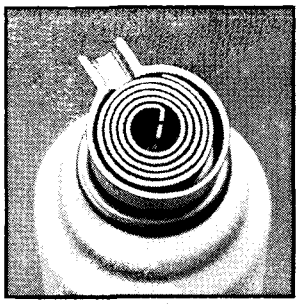
From those new-thinking folks at Schick

New Schick hot lather in a pushbutton can!

Hold the top under hot running water for just seconds. An exclusive heat coil picks up heat from the water—then transfers it to the shave cream. Simply press the button and out comes rich, hot lather—barbershop style. Hot lather softens your beard better than cold lather, gives you a cleaner, more comfortable shave.



Exclusive heat coil!

Run hot water over top!

Push button for HOT LATHER!

Barbers agree—*Hot Lather softens beards better, gives you a better shave*

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The WEEK

● Associate Justice William O. Douglas has lamented that the Supreme Court hears fewer hours of argument per year and sits fewer days per week than it used to in the good old days. "The myth about the Supreme Court," says Douglas, "is that it's overworked." Overworked? Who ever said that? What *we* said was it was overwrought, and maybe should be hanged.

● In the issue of NATIONAL REVIEW that appeared just before the election, we published a survey of the records of Republican congressmen. The survey showed how many times each one had crossed the aisle to vote with the Democrats on statist measures which would not have passed except for Republican support. Roughly speaking, it was an index to how conservative—and how close to the mainstream of the Republican Party—each Representative had shown himself to be during the 88th Congress. We now report, by no means jubilantly, on how the gentlemen fared at either end of the spectrum, giving only statistics. Reading from left to right: 34 [*i.e.*, number of times voted with the Democrats]—1 [*i.e.*, one Republican representative voted that number of times with the Democrats] (r) [*i.e.*, he was re-elected]; 31-1 (r); 26-2 (2 r); 25-1 (r); 24-6 (4 r); 23-2 (1 r, 1 DR [*i.e.*, did not run]; 5-11 (5 r, 3 DR); 4-9 (6 r, 1 DR); 3-15 (10 r, 1 DR); 2-19 (14 r, 2 DR); 1-28 (15 r, 3 DR); 0-24 (11 r, 5 DR).

● The mayor of Philadelphia made an ass of himself the other day by over-reacting to the news that several members of the police force are members of the John Birch Society. That, he said, greatly limits their usefulness, and he went on to play with the idea of suspending, or maybe even firing them. Pray, why? Take the two positions generally considered as the most extreme recommendations ever adopted by the John Birch Society (bear in mind that the Ike-the-Red stuff is not the official view of the JBS, but the private lunacy of its Founder). Those two positions (both of which NATIONAL REVIEW opposes) are 1) that Warren should be impeached, and 2) that the United States should withdraw from the United Nations. Why can't a cop believe those two things, and still discharge his duties meticulously? The JBS does not, and never has, urged any unlawful activity, so that there is no conflict of interest here in membership in an organization that flouts the law, by men professionally involved in enforcing the law. It comes down to this, that the mayor of Philadelphia doesn't know as much as he ought to know about a society, membership in which nevertheless prompted him to challenge the bona fides and professional capacities of loyal policemen against whom there is no taint whatever on the record. The mayor should encourage Philadelphians to display bumper stickers that say Support Your Local Police (available, as far as we know, only from the JBS, at a dollar a dozen).

● Ladeez an Genlmun. Tonight's main event is the match you've all been waiting for, the grudge bout of the century, between the champeens of the USSR and the challengers from the U.S.A. The management requests that all ladies who faint at the sight of blood leave the arena now, because this contest is going to be bareknuckles, no time limit, no holds barred, no quarter asked and none given—a piffle on the Markwis of Queensbury, and the first side that hollers uncle has to pay its UN dues! An here come the challengers in their chic gold tights, "Wrecker" Rusk and Adlai "The Mellifluent Masher" Stevenson . . .They're prancing into the ring now, over a carpet of rose petals strewn by their admirers, and oh, how the spotlights enhance the subtle highlights of their raiment! They're in the ring now, a smile playing over their finely chiseled features, wringing their hands over their heads to tell this ecstatic crowd that they are ready to engage the champeens in raw fisticuffs! And here come the champs up the aisle, bellowing and stamping their hooves—Gawd, what brutes. The contestants shake hands . . . Masher Stevenson is down, squealing in pain and massaging his sore hand. What's this, what's this, the U.S. has thrown in the towel, no, no, no, they're throwing money, it's money, they're paying the Soviets' UN arrears, it looks like, it looks like in triplicate! Pandemonium breaks loose here in the arena as the referee, Mr. Thant, says it's all over! The fight is over! We return you now to our studios . . . .

● It fell to Frederick E. Nolting Jr., our ambassador to Vietnam from 1961 to 1963, to correct Washington's official negligence, and mark the first anniversary of the violent death of Ngo Dinh Diem, a former ally and "a brave man who died for his country a year ago." In an eloquent letter to the public prints, Mr. Nolting puts Diem's sacrifice in its historical perspective: "Events in Vietnam since his overthrow and assassination last November throw light upon some of the problems he faced during his eight years at its helm. His government's achievements under difficult conditions—schools, roads, hos-

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pitals, airstrips, land reform, the creation of defense forces and establishment of the will to resist—still stand as major obstacles to Communist victory there. . . . Diem was a patriot, and I am sure that his wish for his people now, as it was throughout the years I knew him, is for their success in the struggle for national survival, political progress and human dignity."

● The British pound has fallen to the lowest level in years, and Britain is considering borrowing from the International Monetary Fund to beef up her reserves. At the same time the U.S. has borrowed $300 million from the IMF in foreign currencies and has a credit line of $450 million more, which is used to buy dollars from foreign countries, to keep them from exercising the central-bank privilege of converting dollars (*i.e.,* dollar claims) into gold (*i.e.,* dollars, @ 1/35 oz.). The IMF is so loaded with dollars (which it holds in cold storage, to save the U.S. the embarrassment of making good in gold) that it won't accept any more. Of the countries that are members of the currency pool or associates of the IMF, only France and West Germany have the quantity and soundness of currency to be of aid to the IMF. In a real sense the U.S. dollar is no longer a reserve currency. Paris and Bonn are the present line of defense for the Western currencies.

● Put Out More Flags: Pennants whipping from the four municipal flagpoles of Hasbrouck Heights, N.J., read "One Nation Under God." The display, begun last month by the Mayor to protest the Supreme Court ban on school prayer, is being opposed by a resident toy manufacturer who is also a member of the local ADA and ACLU. True to his colors, the toyman regards the bannering forth of God in proximity to country as a breach in the wall of separation between Church and State, finds himself sadly outnumbered, is therefore currently flying the condescending message, "God Bless Our Neighbors." Meanwhile, the Supreme Court was denounced in thundering terms as "the greatest evil in the country today" by Msgr. John Paul Haverty, Secretary of Education in the Catholic Archdiocese of New York, in a startling statement to a Catholic Youth convention. Startling, because these days the world outside Hasbrouck Heights has so many more toy manufacturers than Christian soldiers in it.

● Four years after the UN declared peace against the Congo, war continues. The entire U.S. consular staff in Stanleyville has been taken captive by the "rebel President" (to use the pretty language of the press), Christophe Gbenye, a Prague-trained Communist whose troops are supplied with Communist Chinese weapons. A medical missionary, Dr. Paul Carlson, has been sentenced to death as a spy. Nine hundred whites, hostages in Stanleyville, have been declared "missing." The reply of the Great Society was to harrumph a protest, and write a note to Jomo "Burning Spear" Kenyatta, asking him to protect the American missionary.

● "No Harvard organization has expressed interest in helping Goldwater stamp out peace"—*Harvard Alumni Bulletin,* Nov. 7, 1964. And no Harvard alumnus has encouraged the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* to engage in character assassination.

● The infant mortality of newborn magazines, let it be said with some warmth, is the reciprocal of that for human babies. Indeed, a magazine that reaches age three is the equivalent of a ninety-year-old gentleman. Welcome, then, to the ranks of elder statesmen, Volume 3, Number 1 of *The Harvard Conservative,* a quarterly edited by seniors William Wooldridge and William Dunham. Natty, solid, fearless, and not without a twinkle, *e.g.* the editors' note in the September 1964 number: ". . . the *Conservative* has now twice begun the new year by increasing its size twenty-five per cent. Meanwhile, *Advance,* a Harvard-originated Liberal publication, has expired. Pause, gentle reader, while it is still constitutional, for a moment of respectful silence." The issue contains penetrating analyses of the thought of several right-wing theoreticians, *e.g.,* Frank Meyer and Ayn Rand. Write to: *The Harvard Conservative,* Eliot House B-12, Cambridge, Mass.

● Tom Moore, a freshman at Notre Dame, spent a good part of election day as a volunteer poll-watcher in the nineteenth precinct of Gary, Indiana, as part of the Young Republicans' effort in Operation Eagle Eye. It was the first time, he says, anybody ever challenged a voter in Gary's nineteenth. "There was one girl," he says, "who could not have been more than sixteen. She gave the name of a woman registered as 60 years old." By noon Mr. Moore had challenged 50 voters. By 3:30 p.m. the mayor, district attorney, assistant district attorney, and two plainclothesmen had arrived at the polling place. "Come quietly," said the dicks. He was slapped into a cell and grilled: Who's paying you? How much? Why are you doing this? He asked for a lawyer, and was rebuffed. But a woman at the polling place witnessed his capture, and phoned a lawyer who dashed to the cell block at MiniTrue and rescued Mr. Moore. He had been a jailbird for an hour and a half. The Gary GOP has filed a suit for illegal arrest. "Nothing will come of it," says Mr. Moore, "because nobody will testify against the district attorney and there are no records of arrest. Some people have told me that it wasn't doing any good to watch the polls, because

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it didn't make a difference in the election. *But still, if a person can vote twice, the whole system is shot.*" (Our emphasis, and our congratulations to Mr. Moore.)

● Syndicated columnist John Crosby, writing from London ("I am living for the first time under a Socialist government"), devoted a recent column to the old-fogeyism and reaction of the Labor Government. "I think that what is most urgently needed is the modernization of British Socialist ideas. Labor, for instance, is still committed to the nationalization of steel. Why? Steel is one of Britain's most efficient industries. Why monkey with it? Most of the nationalizations of the previous Labor Government were a disaster. . . . England's future lies . . . within the Atlantic Community—not drawing protective tariffs around this little island and mouthing old Socialist dogmas that went out with World War II." Jolly good show.

● Mr. Crowther of the *New York Times* is the most powerful movie critic in the land. He is invited to Washington to attend the premiere of *John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums,* where he sits among the Rusks, the Dillons, the Warrens, and other brass. *JFK: YOLDOD* is a government propaganda film, made for distribution abroad—at least they *say* for distribution abroad—by the U.S. Information Agency, which Agency, as Mr. Crowther knows, was not created to propagandize the American public in behalf of any one party, administration, politician, or group of politicians. He knows that very well. Yet, as they say in show biz, the wind bloweth where it listeth. Here are the underlinable portions from Mr. Crowther's review: "A magnificent motion picture tribute to President Kennedy which, under a tacit understanding with Congress, cannot be distributed in the United States [fire one] . . . is not to be released to the public in the United States [fire two] . . . Therefore this stunning picture . . . cannot be shown to the people of this country [fire three] to whom its message of inspiration [fire four, five, six and seven] should mean so much, unless some special arrangement [*target!*] is made." Now stand by for the depth charge. "It is therefore not considered likely that the present picture, the most ambitious ever made by the agency . . . will reach domestic distribution without a considerable amount of public pressure [BLAM] being put on Congress." Mr. Crowther's subtlety is at its finest, however, in the wrap-up paragraph, to wit: "The total effect of the picture is not only to refresh one's sense of the tragedy but also to inspire a strong feeling of regard for the Kennedy program, which the narration assures us is being carried on by President Johnson." Voice: Gregory Peck. Running time: 87 min. Color.

A Positive Proposal

Within two or three years, Communist China will be able to mount a direct nuclear threat to the major cities of India, Pakistan and the entire western Pacific. Within less than a decade that threat will become global. Already its premonitory political repercussions are being felt in Tokyo, Manila, Saigon, Jakarta, Moscow and indeed everywhere. There is not the slightest doubt that, if the present outlook holds, the political and strategic position of the United States throughout the western Pacific will soon begin to erode rapidly.

It is probably impossible to prevent the Chinese from acquiring a nuclear capability some time. But it is entirely possible, comparatively easy, and not very risky to delay that achievement for at least five, possibly ten years. All that need be done is to destroy the present Chinese reactors. Their location is known. The Chinese possess no means of defense. The Russians—however they might bleat afterward—would most certainly do nothing to help the Chinese save their installations; indeed they might even give clandestine aid to their elimination; and are not likely to renew the technical aid that made them possible in the first place. The action could probably be carried out without losses; conceivably without Chinese losses, since it would seem safe enough to give a few hours' warning to permit evacuation of personnel.

Why not? No doubt *world opinion* . . . . The world's Left would presumably yelp, and some of the neutralist governments would issue *pro forma* condemnations. But a vast sigh of relief would go up from China's entire periphery, as the shadow of Peking's bomb withdrew, and from others everywhere, who have meditated on the awesome threat an atom bomb poses in the hands of crazed ideologists.

"The inevitable" would only be postponed? Of course. Inevitables can never be more than postponed. But with luck one may be in better shape to deal with the Chinese a little later on. At the very best, a postponement in this case can't possibly make matters worse than they are sure to be without it.

MFY

Stolidly impervious to the evidence, a private panel of sociologists has reported its finding to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency that New York City's Mobilization for Youth program has made "outstanding contributions" in "demonstrating new, effective methods to combat juvenile delinquency." Indeed, MFY has been exceptionally useful "in the effort to involve local residents in the important affairs of their community, and in the initiation of new, dynamic programs

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designed to expand genuine opportunity for young people and their families."

And there you have it, with all the scientific impartiality of a panel of press agents. However, the experts are not likely to blush for their professional reputations any time soon, having merely echoed the sentiments of the reigning divinities. President Kennedy and Mayor Wagner set up MFY as a "prototype for the action programs envisioned in the anti-poverty bill." What genuine opportunities have been opened up? New effective methods for involving young people and their families in community affairs?

In fact, some of MFY's methods are so new to publicly-financed programs as to make MFY, in the past two months, the subject of three official investigations (by itself, by the city, and by the state). It transpires that MFY has a) acted as both snug harbor and petty-cash drawer for a legion of subversives; b) engaged in rent strikes; c) endorsed and taken part in school boycotts; d) involved itself in partisan politics; e) treated its executives to lavish expense accounts; and, very probably f) helped incite the bloody Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant riots, all so that, as the program's apologists put it, slum kids can have a "sense of participation" in the community. In effect, MFY's apologists make the point that radical politics is the wholesome raw material by which to combat delinquency.

LBJ Walks at Midnight

"Washington—President Johnson flew back here from Texas today to begin studying reports of his advisory committee on how to attain the Great Society."
—*New York Times*

"And some have greatness thrust upon 'em."
—Malvolio, *Twelfth Night*

"Lyndon's great on copy but research is his sore thumb." —Overheard on Madison Avenue

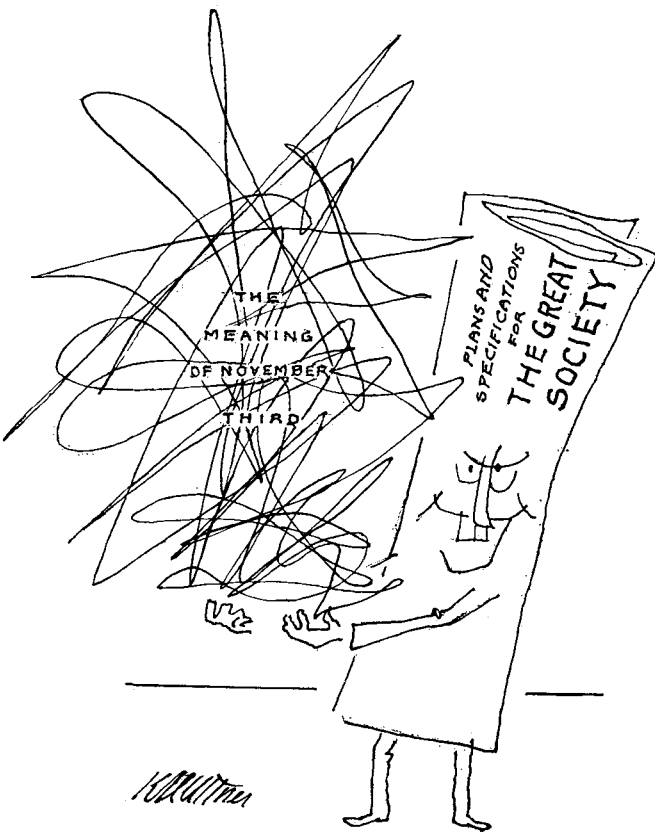
Oh, give me a home where the publicists roam,
A prospect recalling the grandeur of Rome,
A kind of Utopian vision, you know?
Nothing too tropical—just *comme il faut.*
We'll put up a monument, have a brochure,
Some poets and scholars to give it allure:
Lew Mumford, Paul Goodman, Bob Hutchins
and those.
Guys that can handle that mandarin prose.
Now, about details. Well, that's kind of tough.
It could be I haven't pre-tested enough.
And sometimes I wonder, what does it all mean?
(But I'm *sure* that I saw it in *Life* Magazine.)

AC

Whose Rights?

The Supreme Court made clear its priorities by devoting most of the first session (October 5) of its new term to oral arguments on the Atlanta (Heart of Atlanta Motel) and Birmingham (Ollie's Barbecue) cases which had been appealed under Title II (the "public accommodations" section) of the Civil Rights Act.

The lower federal courts had rendered what seemed contrary decisions—though the facts are not identical. In Atlanta the three-judge panel implicitly upheld the Act's constitutionality by enjoining the Motel to accept Negro customers; and the proprietor filed the appeal. In Birmingham, the court found that congressional power under the interstate commerce clause did not apply to a business like Ollie's ("World's Best Barbecue") which does not in fact serve interstate travelers and buys its supplies from local concerns (though, admittedly, much of the food is produced out of state). "The simple truth of the matter," the court declared, "is that Congress has sought to put an end to racial discrimination in all restaurants wherever situated regardless of whether there is any demonstrable causal connection between the activity of the particular restaurant . . . and interstate commerce. . . . If Congress has the naked power to do what it has attempted in Title II



"It's a Mandate, as any fool can plainly see!"

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of this Act, there is no facet of human nature which it may not control." The judges granted Ollie's an injunction against the order to integrate; and in this case it is the government that brought the appeal.

The Motel offered three separate grounds for invalidating Title II: the 14th amendment (Title II deprives a businessman, without due process, of the liberty to choose his customers); the 13th amendment (Title II forces a man into "involuntary servitude"); and the inapplicability of the interstate commerce clause. Ollie's attorney argued that the extension of the Act to businesses merely because a "substantial proportion" of the items they deal in originate out of state is not authorized by the interstate commerce clause. Solicitor General Cox, for the government, rested his argument exclusively on the interstate commerce clause. He contended that numerous precedents involving common carriers, child labor, prostitutes (the Mann Act), etc. confirmed that Congress had ample powers to enact Title II, if it chose to do so.

The line of questioning by the justices during the hearing indicated what one would have assumed on past performance: that the Supreme Court will affirm the constitutionality of Title II and uphold the Department of Justice in both these cases—doubtless by the usual civil rights 9-0 in the Atlanta Motel case, perhaps with one or two dissenters *in re* Ollie's Barbecue.

And when, a few weeks or months from now, we read the decisions, we may recall the dictum of the Birmingham panel: "If Congress has the naked power to do what it has in Title II of this Act, there is no facet of human nature which it may not control." Nevertheless, on this occasion the Court will not be usurping the legislative function, as it did in *Brown* and the legislative redistricting cases. If we believe that the state acts as tyrant when it takes away a man's right to do business, or decline to do business, with whom he may choose, it is Congress, not the Court, that should bear the brunt of our resentment, as the originator of the assault on our civil liberties. The Supreme Court correctly places the burden of proof on the shoulders of the plaintiff against Congress.

Meanwhile in Biloxi there appeared a manifestation of the Civil Rights Act unadvertised in advance. A federal grand jury has been sitting in Biloxi called ostensibly to investigate "violations of the Civil Rights Act," but in reality to investigate the triple murders and various assaults in nearby Neshoba county—over which the Federal Government has no jurisdiction. Pursuant thereto the jury has handed down indictments against five present or former members of the Neshoba police force.

It is everyone's impression, including ours, that some, at least, of the Neshoba police are a crummy lot. But we pause for reflection. Are "violation of the Civil Rights Act" and the even more tenuous "conspiracy to violate" going to become a catch-all charge by which the Federal Government can get its hands on nearly any citizen? The Act forbids discrimination of practically any conceivable sort on grounds of sex or creed as well as race. A man will have to watch his step, all right: if he told his wife he'd kill her if she voted for Bobby Kennedy, he may find himself hauled up for a civil rights violation.

Realignment

The suggestion by Senator Goldwater that perhaps the time has come for party realignment should be viewed as a tactical maneuver, and nothing much else. As we see it, this was Senator Goldwater's way of telling the *tricoteuses* around him that if they overreact in the days ahead and try to purge the Republican National Committee of its conservative elements, he, Goldwater, will maybe just play around with the idea of going to a third party, which would mean that the Rockefellers and the Lindsays would be left with a shell to preside over.

The maneuver probably will work, and it is doubtful that the Jacobins will ring in a Terror directed against the conservatives, so that Mr. Goldwater will have made his point, all right. On the intrinsic merits, the proposal can hardly be taken seriously. Now that the Republicans have effectively—thanks largely to Senator Goldwater—broken up the Democratic stranglehold in the South, any Southern conservative who wants to can vote Republican. And why, one wonders, should the Democratic Party disband and regroup as the "Liberal" Party at this stage in the game? It is hardly serious to suggest to a party that recently won 62 per cent of the national vote, how it might improve its political fortunes.

The Need for a GI Bill

A few years ago, simultaneously the Congress of the United States found itself debating the so-called Status of Forces Treaty, and four GIs found themselves sitting at a bar at a hoochie-koochie joint in Turkey. What happened to the GIs is more dramatic than what happened in Congress, though by no means unrelated to it. In Washington the discussion (which got nowhere) had to do with whether or not to repeal a treaty which cedes to foreign powers the authority to prosecute and try American soldiers for offenses against local laws. The argument in favor of repeal focused on the disparities between our own code of punishment and that of some other countries. It is generally conceded that if an American GI kills

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

THE ASSAULTS ON WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

somebody in a foreign country, it is altogether appropriate that he should be tried by a foreign court and imprisoned for life or even executed, the penalty for that crime being parallel to our own. It is not, on the other hand, all that obvious that an American GI caught, let us say, stealing in Saudi Arabia, should have one of his hands chopped off, that being the thing one does, in Saudi Arabia, to thieves.

The GIs in question ran into that kind of thing. They were approached by a belly dancer who feigned an urgent need for American cash. Specifically, she wanted 500 bucks, and said she was willing to pay for the dollars at the rate of 15 Turkish lire to one, this at a time when the official exchange rate was 9-1 and the black market rate 14-1. The GIs apparently bit. The next day, two of them were picked up by the Turkish police. It transpired that the lady with the belly was a stoolie. The police demanded a confession. The GIs demurred, whereupon their wrists were tied together and, hoisted a few inches off the floor, they were methodically flogged with leather straps until, thinking the matter over, they agreed to confess that they had, after all, committed the crime. Their confederates, who by this time had also been picked up, also agreed to plead guilty.

The sentence: seven months in jail and a $700 fine. But one of the GIs, Corporal Dale McCuistion, decided to appeal, charging the Turks with third degree, entrapment, and other violations of human rights which, at least technically, are guaranteed by Turkish law. Five, f-i-v-e, years later—during which the Corporal, his wife and their five children, were forbidden to leave the country—a high Turkish court dismissed three of the four charges against the Corporal. Whereupon the lower court, enraged at the Corporal's legal successes, retaliated, sentencing him on the remaining count to seven months in prison and, no less, $17,000 in fine. Corporal McCuistion, toward the end of his jail sentence, confessed he didn't have anything like $17,000. The alternative? Three additional years in jail.

This is what he faced two months ago, when a few valiant journalists, notably Mr. Jack Kofoed of the *Miami Herald,* and Mr. Fulton Lewis Jr., undertook to raise the money and spring the unhappy American, it being established that the United States Government has no resources to tap for extremities of this nature, and is not disposed to reduce by $17,000 the couple hundred million dollars we give to Turkey every year, whose value is nine times that amount in Turkish lire, or fourteen times, depending on how you look at it.

Well, the generosity of the American public was enough to spring this particular GI. There remains the generic question: shouldn't the government of the United States acknowledge some kind of responsibility for defending its citizens against egregious discrepancies between American penalties and other penalties?

It is unlikely that a Saudi Arabian court will chop off the lightfingered hand of any GI. But lesser discrepancies, such as those Corporal McCuistion was ensnared by, are here to remind us of the defectiveness of the Status of Forces Treaty. It is bad enough to wrest a young American from his normal pursuits and send him to a remote corner of the world to protect Universal Freedom. It is unnecessary to subject him to a set of laws that punish misbehavior according to a scale of penalties utterly alien to the soldier's experience. The Status of Forces Treaty very much needs altering; and Corporal McCuistion's experience will serve until—and let us hope that never happens—something even more lurid comes along to demonstrate the necessity for new and better treaties, now that we are marching towards the Great Society.

Medicare Is Coming

Assuming the argument from principle has failed to carry the day, and the next Congress will pass some sort of bill for federal involvement in individual medical care problems, there is time still for an argument from experience. The Congress, that is to say, should learn something from the errors and failures of government medical programs in a dozen foreign countries, and strive to avoid the most grievous structural vulnerabilities of government medicine.

1) The experience in Britain, West Germany, France, and other countries indicates that it doesn't take long for expenses to shoot way beyond income. From the standpoint of efficiency and good bookkeeping, the medical program should be administered as an entirely separate function of the Federal Government, and all funds received and disbursed should be handled through entirely separate accounts, instead of lumping the thing with social security. If the program is to have an insurance feature, it should be kept rigorously separate from other features, which are basically not insurance but forcible redistribution. Tight administration and responsible bookkeeping might have saved other programs from their present troubles.

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2) The personal income tax law should provide for a direct tax credit for premiums paid to commercial medical insurance companies. This is a straight accounting transaction in which the government "purchases" at market price its "immunity" from the contingent liability of that citizen's calling on it for help in the future; and this simultaneously provides a method for the government to satisfy itself (for that is what it seems to want) that the citizen has access to proper medical care.

3) Assuming the government declines suggestion 2, it is important to bear in mind that because of the millions of medical visitations that take place each day, a national governmental program is practically unpoliceable. Fraud will be attempted time and again, as experience in other countries makes fearfully plain (the "patient" who colludes with the doctor to produce vouchers for care not given, and visits not made). The most efficient control is to legislate very strict penalties for that kind of thing.

4) The bureaucratic paperwork required of physicians should be held to the absolute minimum. A carbon copy of the invoice sent to the patient should be sufficient. Physicians in other countries have found themselves using three to four hours a day to satisfy the bureaucratic hunger for paperwork. Medical care cannot be improved by turning doctors into clerks.

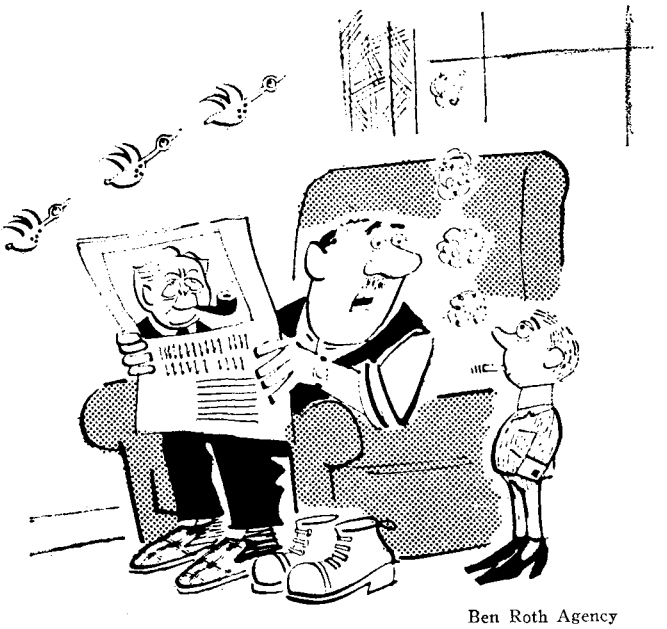
5) It should always be remembered that the need for welfarism rises as the tax take rises, and vice versa. If, as seems likely, we are at the beginning of a secular trend away from expropriative taxation, it is possible that the "need" for a federal medical program will grow less and less apparent as time goes on. The program should have a reverse gear in it, so that it can back up if it finds it's just spinning wheels.

These proposals arise from a study of governmental mistakes in Medicare around the world. The Congress, in its benevolence, would be derelict if it ignored the lessons of experience.

Non-Extremism in Pursuit of Virtue

There was much and resonant talk in the campaign on the general subject of morality, which fact may be acknowledged only in order to specify that the ensuing remarks, although about one aspect of morality, are not about the Republican-*vs.*-Democratic kind. Their target is the *Zeitgeist,* who knoweth not the difference between a Republican and a Democrat. And the problem is by no means Made in the U.S.A.

Sir Arnold Lunn, the salty littérateur and sportsman, writes recently from England in high dudgeon



Ben Roth Agency

"Pipe tobacco isn't harmful, son, but cigarettes are 25% Rhodesian."

over a pronouncement there by the Quaker Church, which has apparently issued one of those oh-so-permissive statements on the general subject of sexual morality.

"What I despise about these new moralists," writes Sir Arnold, "is the pious humbug and intellectual dishonesty of their stuff. It is simply dishonest, historically and exegetically, to pretend that Christianity is not explicit in condemning fornication, adultery, and homosexuality. The Quakers in England have recently told us that those who want to have intercourse outside of marriage should ask 'how deep a relationship is, how much personal intimacy is expressed in this act.' I wish I might have known this formula in my early twenties, when I had no religion and was unmarried—'I assure you it's all right, my dear. Why hesitate? I only want to express a very high degree of personal intimacy. . . .'

"What," Sir Arnold sighs, "is left of Christ and His teaching by the time these Friends have sown their Quaker oats?"

Lest we begin to feel smug about the relative security of our own conventions, consider a recent gospel according to a psychologist from a prominent university who spoke recently to a youth symposium at the University of California. Sexual intercourse among teenagers was okay, he preached, "as long as they liked one another, didn't exploit each other, and enjoyed themselves."

Bad news, here, for those teenagers who don't-like-one-another, don't-enjoy-it. But let those teenagers restrained by the fear that such might be their post-prandial reactions take heart: "It's inevitable," says our psychologist, "that after a sexual bout teen-

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agers will like one another more, the boy will treat the girl kindly and as a friend, and with good luck it will deepen"—whereupon the doctor recalled, before what the newspaper described as a "hushed audience," that his wife had provided their daughter with contraceptives before packing her off to college.

"Good grief!" *Candy* says in a large advertisement in a metropolitan newspaper. "And just when everything seemed to be going so wonderfully well! NUMBER THREE on the Best Seller List! . . . suddenly the sky fell in. Mister New York Times said he would NOT take any more ads of me! Well really! I just don't think it's fair, damn it! I mean, when I think of all those marvelous, marvelous things people have said about me!"—and the ad went on to cite compliments paid to the most nauseating piece of pornography written in our time. What had happened was that the publisher of the *New York Times*, at the urgent suggestion of some of his friends who had seen the book advertised in its august pages, read it, announced to his advertising department that free-speech-is-free-speech but there *are* limits. . . .

Are there? It is hard to blame the publisher of *Candy* as long as English Quakers and American psychologists are busy assaulting the basic proposition —that virtue is desirable. Candy is only risqué, as far as our psychologist is concerned, if she failed to enjoy herself (she didn't), or to become friendly (she didn't) with her lovers; or to develop with them a "deep relationship" (she did), of the kind the English Quakers would deem friendly.

None of this may be grist for the political mills, but any political candidate who says we are far gone in degeneracy will not be called extremist by us.

On the Right

The Case for Bobby

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Conservatives in New York State are deeply grieved over the victory of Bobby Kennedy, who is now senator-elect. Some are especially sad to be deprived of the services of Kenneth Keating. Others are not a bit sad at the prospect of doing without Mr. Keating. But all are disconsolate over Mr. Kennedy's victory.

Buckley

Their grief is in two parts, one part political and, if the truth must be told, one personal. Personal, because Bobby has a way about him that antagonizes those who are on the other side. All the rough edges of his brother's career are associated with Bobby: the ruthlessness, the opportunism, the demagogy, the disingenuousness. As the apotheosis of John Kennedy goes forward, the sludge drains away and settles down around his feisty little brother, who is thought of as personally responsible for whatever disagreeable memories we still permit ourselves about the Kennedy years. Under the circumstances, the anti-Kennedyites sought the personal satisfaction of defeating this young man at the polls, of telling him that this was one effrontery too many . . .

Politically, New York conservatives felt that they had the solemn responsibility that attaches to the person present at the incubation of a monster. If you fail to snuff out his life right then and there, he may grow up to eat you. The prospect of another Kennedy era, dominated by Bobby, is enough to send the average New York conservative to a monastery. The only historical parallel that comes readily to mind is those few months of utter panic in 1949 when the astonishing victory at the polls of Franklin Delano Roosevelt Jr. suggested to American conservatives the horrible prospects of reincarnation.

I bring soothing thoughts. It seems to me plain that such is the power of President Johnson in Democratic councils, and the power in turn of the Democrats over all of us, that we probably have more to fear from Mr. Johnson's hegemony, than from the foot in the door of power that Bobby Kennedy has now intruded. Mr. Johnson having colonized everyone from the militant Left to the easygoing Right, there's not a figure left in megalopolitan Washington who dares to sneeze in his presence. Except for Bobby. Johnson rid himself of the Kennedy coattails when he disqualified Bobby for the Vice Presidency. But simultaneously, Bobby went a long way in establishing his own political manhood by enduring, and surviving successfully, a hot campaign. He is back in Washington and owes no debt to LBJ. Moreover, he has a more intensely enthusiastic personal following than LBJ. It is always easier to be seduced by Don Giovanni than by Leporello.

The two-party system does not begin by being Right *vs.* Left; it begins by being something against something. Bobby Kennedy is a magnetic field and so the forces in opposition to LBJ within his own party will naturally flow towards him. Since political polarization tends to be of the Left-Right kind, what will almost certainly happen is that Bobby will gravitate to the left of LBJ—or to the right of him. A tension will at least have been set up, and tensions are factors for freedom, as any federalist will tell us. Purely in terms, then, of the dynamics of power, it is probably a good thing that Bobby was elected. God save us, Bobby Kennedy, for the time being, is the nearest thing we have to a two-party system.

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The Third World War

Must Conservatives Be Republicans?

JAMES BURNHAM

Most American conservatives assume that their political views must seek electoral expression in the Republican Party. The party of "business," it has been taken for granted, must be the conservative party; the New Deal party must be anti-conservative.

Burnham

In historical perspective the cogency of this assumption decreases. A century ago, when the Republican Party started, the terms "liberal" and "conservative" as we use them had no application. But then and for several generations thereafter the Republican Party was the more "radical" and "progressive" of our two major political formations. Republicans abolished slavery, speeded development of the West and fought for "civil rights." The Democratic Party kept roots in its plantation past and dragged its social and economic feet. Even at the beginning of this century, Democratic "liberalism" consisted of little more than the advocacy of free silver and easy credit. Progressivism got moving through Theodore Roosevelt and the Republican Party.

Later on, Democrats were more alert than Republicans in offering a home to sections of the population newly emerging as social forces: the Irish, Italians and Jews; the organized workers; the intellectuals; more recently, the Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. In early stages, these elements have pushed the Democratic Party in a Liberal, welfarist direction. But, except for the intellectuals, their leftism has been a useful tool rather than an ideological absolute. As they rise on the socio-economic ladder, their stake in the social order increases and their political opinions tend rightward. In these groups, moreover, there are inherent sources of conservative impulse: the Roman Catholicism of most of the European groups, for example; or (in spite of current appearances) the evangelical fundamentalism of so many Negroes.

Everyone recognizes the conservative institutions still widely present among all classes in the South. If the Republican Party has broken into the South, the Democrats still carried this year a majority in the South as a whole; and it was not in all cases the most conservative Southerners who shifted to Goldwater.

How Conservative Is Business?

As for the Republican Party's makeup, its "business" component—whose electoral instability was dramatically shown this year—can no longer be relied on as a conservative anchor. In the United States as in the advanced European nations, the managers of big business and finance—as against independent proprietors and small businessmen—have swung a long way leftward.

There are few Democratic leaders more all-out Liberal than Jacob Javits, Clifford Case, Thomas Kuchel and John Lindsay; and few Republicans more solidly conservative than Senators Byrd and Russell, or Representatives Howard Smith, Wilbur Mills and Otto Passman. The outstanding anti-Communist spokesmen in Congress have usually been Democrats, from Martin Dies and Pat McCarran to Tom Dodd.

Conservatism can profit from the Liberal example. Modern Liberalism got under way early in this century as a non-partisan doctrine and movement. For decades its emphasis was not electoral, but educational, literary and propagandist. Even the 1932 election was not "a Liberal victory": Franklin Roosevelt had a moderate's record and ran on a relatively conservative platform. But Liberalism was by then powerful in the universities, churches and communications media; and prepared to exploit the opportunity provided by the economic crisis.

This year the Republican Party has suffered a disastrous defeat. Simultaneously American conservatism has made remarkable progress. A decade ago the new conservative movement was an idea in a few hundred heads. As a by-product of the 1964 Presidential campaign, several million Americans linked themselves consciously and deliberately with the rejection of prevailing Liberal doctrines and the search for a conservative alternative.

The nomination of Barry Goldwater was something of an accident, reflecting rather the disarray of his opponents than the autonomous present strength of conservatism. It was unrealistic to suppose he had a serious chance to win: not only did domestic prosperity assure, as almost always, the return of the incumbent, but—to be quite honest about it—the American conservative movement was not ready in 1964, in program or in leadership, to run the country. The Goldwater candidacy, from conservative perspective, was premature. This was unfortunate for the Republican Party and quite possibly for Barry Goldwater; but it need not be for conservatism.

The job immediately ahead for American conservatives is to get out in the highways and byways—Democratic as well as Republican—to continue making more conservatives; and at the same time to carry out the arduous task which the campaign proved to be scarcely begun—the translation of conservative ideas and values into a practical political program viable in relation to the given realities and persuasive to widening sections of the citizenry.

The conservative movement expresses the belief that modern Liberalism and its Establishment cannot solve the great challenges that threaten the survival of our country and civilization—none of them partisan problems. If the Johnson-Humphrey Administration proves that belief to be wrong, conservatism will fade away in any case. If it fails to do so—if the threats continue and deepen over the next years—then the Democratic Party may become an arena even more promising than the Republican Party for a spectacular conservative advance.

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The Republican Party and the Conservative Movement

Post-election commentary from prominent politicians and scholars, on what went wrong, and what are the prospects for another round

GEORGE BUSH

IT IS ABUNDANTLY clear to me in the wake of the election that the Republican Party must be the hope for the conservative in the future.

After campaigning in Texas for fourteen months for the United States Senate, I am only equipped to discuss our great state. I am convinced that conservatism was not beaten here on November 3. Goldwater was beaten, Bush was beaten, the Republicans were beaten, but I don't think we can say conservatism was beaten. John Connally won, so did Waggoner Carr, Joe Pool, Bob Casey and many others who must by most definitions be classified as conservatives.

President Johnson's victory was of landslide proportions, with a tremendous straight lever vote particularly in the minority group precincts. The "lever" gave 98.5 per cent of the Negro vote to proponents and opponents of the Civil Rights Bill alike. Sixteen Texas Democrat congressmen who voted against the Civil Rights Bill were up for re-election and all sixteen got this high percentage of the Negro vote.

Here in Texas the Johnson victory was not a repudiation of conservatism. Many Texans, erroneously of course, feel that LBJ is on the conservative side. He is a native Texan, there is high employment and LBJ has done a fantastic job of being all things to all people. To this must be added the fact that Senator Goldwater's campaign never got in high gear. He was put on the defensive by the news media and stayed there. He himself spoke constructively and forthrightly but the negative image remained.

It remained partly because of the so-called "nut" fringe. An undecided voter would be pounced on by some hyper-tensioned type armed with an anti-LBJ book or an inflammatory pamphlet. The undecided voter wouldn't get a sensible message on where Goldwater stood, he'd get some fanatic on his back tearing down Lyndon. Goldwater didn't want to

George Bush

repeal Social Security but some of his more militant backers did. He didn't want to bomb the UN but these same backers did. They pushed their philosophy in Goldwater's name, and scared the hell out of the plain average non-issue-conscious man on the street.

I think any fair-minded observer would have to say that no one could have beat President Johnson this year. Those who heap abuse on Goldwater now should realize this, and should have the decency to admit it. Perhaps another candidate might have done better, but win on November 3, 1964—I'd say "No."

The GOP must remain the conservatives' hope. A third party movement will never work. It will simply further divide. It would carry with it to disaster all shades of political gray, leaving only the black of the far Left. The Democrat Party goes from Powell to Byrd and from Lausche to Humphrey, and somehow they all get together and win—with the mainstream flowing near the left bank.

The GOP, incongruous though it seems, must welcome all who want to be Republicans. We cannot afford the luxury of screening committees to see if a man's every iota of political philosophy conforms to some guidelines laid down by "true conservatives" or "informed conservatives." There simply aren't enough people who share my every view for me to dictate just who can or who can't be a Republican.

At the same time those of conservative persuasion should press hard for their views in the councils of the Party. They should work for what they believe in, but they shouldn't rely on "all or nothing" ultimatums. They should strive to keep our mainstream right of center, rejoicing as it becomes clearly conservative, but not panicking if it eddies towards the middle of the river from time to time.

We should re-package our philosophy, emphasize the positive, eliminate the negative, warn of the dangers from the Left but do so without always questioning the patriotism of those who hold Liberal views. Let's present an image of workability and reason and common sense.

From campaigning for a long time I am convinced that moral fiber, prudence, love of country, the enlightened self-interest of the U.S., strength in foreign policy and free-

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dom of the individual are indeed what the people of the U.S. want. These are some of the things conservatives believe and so we should start now to emphasize these issues and others. We should not fear flexibility or change. We should not drum people out of the Party who disagree with us. We should try to convince them we're right and, barring this, we should join with them in highlighting the differences between the things we do agree on and the things the Democratic Party stands for.

I have no respect for the Republican who quit his Party this year because he didn't get it all his way. It's easy to quit and then criticize. I have plenty of respect for people who in convention fought for what they believed, lost, and then went to work for their Party swallowing their points of difference with Goldwater, and campaigning hard on the broad philosophical differences between the GOP and the National Democratic Party. Richard Nixon is a good example of this. Compare his teamwork with the performance of Nelson Rockefeller.

Conservatism can and will survive —it needs to be practical and positive. It has to be fair. It has to win and it can only win through the GOP, through the give and take of a two-party system. I for one plan to stick with my Party and to try to help build a better tomorrow.

JOHN DAVIS LODGE

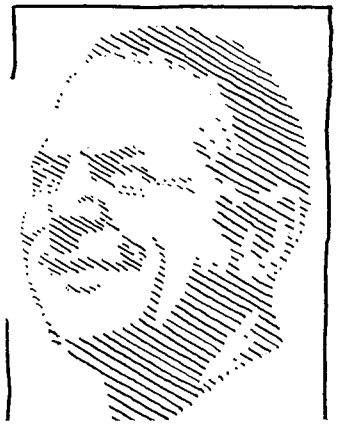
A disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman.
—Edmund Burke, 1790

I START WITH the conviction that the survival of a vital, balanced, competitive two-party system is essential to our form of representative government. A multi-party system produces minority government and has often produced chaos besides. A one-party system would destroy freedom.

Ours is not a parliamentary form of government under which the executive rises out of the legislative like Minerva from the brow of Zeus. Ours is a system inspired by Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws,* and founded on the separation of powers.

In a nation of 192 million people, it is absurd to expect unanimity in either party. Unity, not unanimity is what we Republicans should achieve in order for a vigorous two-party system to survive.

The Democrats had their problems in 1948 when Strom Thurmond ran for President on the Dixiecrat ticket and Henry Wallace on the Labor ticket. Yet, Truman defeated Dewey. The federation of special interest groups put together by FDR and Harry Hopkins defeated a reasonably united Republican Party in spite of these defections. One gathers that the Democrats are more sophisticated in this sense than the Republicans. Senator Eastland of Mississippi lives harmoniously in the same party with Senator Humphrey of Minnesota. Yet they have virtually nothing in common except a common desire for victory. On an ideological basis, the division between Senator Goldwater and Governor Rockefeller would appear small compared with the chasm which yawns between a Senator Ellender of Louisiana and a Senator Joe Clark of Pennsylvania, a Senator Byrd of Virginia and a Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. What can



John Davis Lodge

Adam Clayton Powell of New York City, chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, possibly discuss with Judge Howard Smith of Virginia, the 80-year-old chairman of the House Rules Committee, except their common desire to retain their committee chairmanships? The late John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, during their service together in House and Senate voted on opposite sides some 264 times. This included most of the vital issues of the day. Yet, because it seemed like a combination which might produce victory at the polls, they worked harmoniously on the same ticket. Lyndon Johnson, whose congressional voting record in many respects was at the opposite end of the political spectrum from Senator Humphrey's, then picked the co-founder of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) as a running-mate. Senator Humphrey has a 100 per cent ADA rating and Lyndon Johnson was opposed and berated by the ADA in 1960 as Vice Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party. My opponent Senator Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut managed to attract both extremes of the political spectrum during the recent campaign. He received a substantial number of votes from supporters of Senator Goldwater and was also endorsed by the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO. President Johnson managed to attract big business and big labor.

The terms Conservative and Liberal, right-wing and left-wing are derived from the parliamentary systems of Europe. They have little meaning for us.

In general, let us say that it is desirable for the Party of Lincoln to stand for a firm policy against our Communist enemies on the theory that peaceful coexistence for them is a tactic, not an objective and that for us it is surrender on an installment plan. In general, we Republicans should believe in economy in government, balanced budgets, equal rights for all our citizens and an emphasis away from big government, and on the individual responsibilities which are inseparable from freedom.

Let us remember however, that politics is not only the science of government, it is also the art of inclusion. While many Republicans deserted the Goldwater-Miller ticket, many Goldwater supporters were unconciliatory in their attitude towards other Republicans. In many instances they played a lone wolf game.

In order to retain a vital two-party system, it is urgent that we Republicans, whether we call ourselves conservatives, Liberals or moderates,

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should present a united front in our political contests with the Democrats. If we do not, states like Connecticut may well become like Mississippi, stagnant pools of political patronage where there is no vital constructive Republican Party to provide healthy competition for power-hungry political overlords. While the individual should be possessed of strong convictions, the Republican Party as a whole must move into a more widely acceptable posture if we are to create the close balance between the two parties which we must have in order for our Constitution and Bill of Rights to retain their essential meaning in a dangerous and difficult world.

RONALD REAGAN

BY NOW A NEW cliché has been added to the time-worn list, but I know of no other way of comment on the election than to open with the by now familiar—"Well, it's over and we lost."

Yes, we did; we lost a battle in the continuing war for freedom, but our

Ronald Reagan

position is not untenable. First of all, there are 26 million of us and we can't be explained away as die-hard party faithfuls. We cross party lines in our dedication to a philosophy.

There are no plans for retreating from our present positions, but we can't advance without reinforcements. Are reinforcements available? The answer is an unhesitating—"Yes!" They are to be found in the millions of so-called Republican defectors—those people who didn't really want LBJ, but who were scared of what they thought we represented. Read that sentence very carefully because in my opinion it tells the story. All of the landslide majority did not vote against the conservative philosophy, they voted against a false image our Liberal opponents successfully mounted. Indeed it was a double false image. Not only did they portray us as advancing a kind of radical departure from the status quo, but they took for themselves a costume of comfortable conservatism. Read again their campaign fiction and you find their normal flamboyant Liberalism hidden under the protective coloration of "the great society," or as Hubert Horatio Humphrey (who can't ask what time it is without conducting a filibuster) put it: "We don't want a planned society—we want society planning."

Unfortunately human nature resists change and goes over backward to avoid radical change. It's a head shaker, I know, but the whole Liberal apparatus which can be quoted *ad infinitum* on "the wave of the future, the need for new approaches to old problems, adopt new rules for complex new problems, forget the Constitution," was able to campaign in a last year's model singing, "The old songs—the old songs are good enough for me."

Very shortly though, they'll bring the show into town for a four-year run, complete with new score—words and music by Reuther, Joseph Rauh and the "Great Society Chorale." Time then for the music critics—that's us. We must dwell unceasingly on the change of tune. Our job beginning now is not so much to sell conservatism as to prove that our conservatism is in truth what a lot of people thought they were voting for when they fell for the cornpone come-on.

In short—time now for the soft sell to prove our radicalism was an optical illusion. We represent the forgotten American—that simple soul who goes to work, bucks for a raise, takes out insurance, pays for his kids' schooling, contributes to his church and charity and knows there just *"ain't no such thing as free lunch."*

I'll add a postscript—I don't think we should turn the high command over to leaders who were traitors during the battle just ended.

RUSSELL KIRK

RATHER THAN being terribly injured by its defeat on November 3, the Republican Party now has prospects of strength and success unknown to it for a generation. For, however, confusedly, it is being transformed into a coherently conservative party; and, willy-nilly, these United States must move toward conservative principles and measures, during the next several years.

Since 1932, the Republicans have been able to attain national dominance only when headed by a popular non-political man, General Eisenhower; and even then, they were able to retain a congressional majority only briefly. They can escape from the permanent condition of a stubborn minority only if they strongly affirm some ideas and some program more imaginative than the old Republicanism. Toward such a metamorphosis, they shifted in this year's national election.

Considerably to their own surprise, conservative Republicans ceased to be a mere fraction and became the strongly dominant element of a great party, during the past year. It was too much to expect that this hastily-reconstituted party leadership could win the Presidency and Congress, in a few months of campaigning. Outwardly, the results of November 3 show approximately the usual division of party allegiance, as reflected in voter-registrations: 60 per cent Democratic, 40 per cent Republican. But actually there occurred a marked shift in party allegiance. Several million Republican Liberals voted for Mr. Johnson; while millions of conservatively-inclined Democrats, particularly in five Southern states, crossed the line to Republicanism

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because they could not stomach Johnsonian Liberalism.

Not all conservatives are in the Republican party yet, nor all Liberals in the Democratic camp. But the tide surges that way, and all the endeavors of the Rockefellers and Lodges and Javitses and Kuchels will be vain as the command of Canute. A good many Republicans who reluctantly voted for Johnson, or sat home in bewilderment, are nevertheless people of conservative instinct and interest, temporarily diverted from their natural allegiance by the false charge of "trigger-happiness" against Senator Goldwater. They will be of another mind, four years from now. Southerners, on the contrary, seem destined to move steadily toward conservative Republicanism: only the libelous assaults on Mr. Goldwater and the lingering hope that Mr. Johnson might retain some shred of Southern sympathies prevented, by narrow margins, the rest of the South from supporting conservative Republican candidates.

Now drawing its strength from West and South, the Republican Party will tend to part finally with the Liberalism of the Northeast. The new anchor of the party may become California, where Mr. Goldwater obtained a million votes more than in New York, where Mr. Murphy triumphed over Mr. Salinger, and where Proposition 14 passed overwhelmingly.

Whatever gestures of conciliation may be made toward Republican Liberals, the dominant figures in the national party during the next four years—men like Mr. Nixon and Representative Gerald Ford—will have no truck with the grand design of "me too," and will be more clearly conservative in utterance and proposal than formerly. Even Governor Romney says that he is trying to be conservative. And far from being overwhelmed, Senator Goldwater has demonstrated that he commands a personal following—immune to the massive propaganda of press and television—larger and more enthusiastic than any Republican leader since Theodore Roosevelt has been able to rally.

For Republican conservatives, Lincoln's admonition to General Hooker is needed: "Beware of rashness." The crowd of zealous volunteers—many of them engaging in political campaigns for the first time—who hurried to Goldwater's banner must learn prudence and the arts of persuasion, for some of these alienated as many voters as they converted. Two years from now, they should be wiser and better disciplined; four years from now, they may well exclaim with some confidence, "Why not victory?"

GERHART NIEMEYER

Conservatism in America is now an articulate, inclusive movement of the people. Before this campaign, there was the unconscious, native and eclectic conservatism of Americans, plus the vocal, intellectual conservatism of the YAF, ISI, Young Republicans, plus the often too shrill and divisive clamor of super-patriots. Now the campaign has amalgamated these and other rivulets into a great stream which has its own power to mould and guide. The awareness of this gives a strong lift. People now see clearly what they used to feel vaguely. The single main ingredient in this integration, though, is not so much a set of ideas, as Goldwater's personality. Conservatism is not an ideology, a system of abstract speculations, but rather the defense of a way of life, a sound society, against the attack of ideologies. It takes someone who embodies that way of life to give conservatism shape. In the past we had Taft, or Hoover. Now Goldwater's shining integrity speaks eloquently about so much that cannot and should not try to ape the distorted intellectualism of the socialists and Communists.

One can say, then, that the election resulted in the defeat, not of conservatism, but of the Republican Party. Our two great parties are coalitions. Among other things, both of them combine Liberal and conservative forces. Let nobody say that conservatism introduces a new ideological element into party politics that is alien to the American experience. Before San Francisco, the Republican Party coalition was subject to the Liberal ideology, so much so that Nixon did not dare to go through with a Party-adopted platform that was not acceptable to the Liberal, Rockefeller. Conservatives cooperated under the Liberals' leadership, in spite of snubs, frustrations, disapproval. When the conservatives assumed leadership, though, the Liberals deserted, either into Johnson's camp, or into separatism, or into inactivity. In precinct after precinct, defeat for the Republican Party resulted from the sulking of Republican Liberals. Meanwhile, the conservative Republicans brought in 26 million votes.

These 26 million are now one of the facts of life. Their undaunted will to stick together, to go on battling was the great experience of that otherwise bleak election night. The Johnson snow did not bury them. A flood of messages of dedication poured into the Goldwater place. I personally was called up by a conservative factory worker who still voted socialist four years ago and now, having thought his way clear, is appalled at the unwillingness of people around him to think at all: what could he do to help? The conservative movement is undestructible because it consists of

Gerhart Niemeyer

people who have found a new sense of direction. The "futility of it all" has vanished in their eyes. They know what matters and they will get it, either for themselves or for their children or grandchildren.

The Republican Party will have to take this solid core of convinced,

(Continued on p. 1078)

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Principles and Heresies

What Next for Conservatism?

FRANK S. MEYER

WHAT DID the election prove and did it not prove?

First, *what it proved*:

1) The mass-communications network, solidly in Liberal hands, is even more formidable an opponent than conservatives had thought.

Meyer

2) Making all allowances for the effects of the mass-communications network, the progress of the campaign showed that conservatives have not yet learned how to translate the principles for which they stand into concrete issues that can seize the imagination of decisive sections of the voters. Examples in point: the failure to dramatize the Communist issue around the threat of the Soviet base in Cuba; the inability to drive home the plain truth that President Johnson's course towards unilateral disarmament, not Goldwater's concern about American strength, is the real danger to little girls eating ice-cream cones; the abstract presentation of the issue of freedom at home, an issue that could have been made concrete and compelling in the actual lives of tens of millions of voters by systematic and vividly factual illustration.

3) It became apparent that the Liberal attack on conservatism as a radical tearing down of established institutions (perhaps—along with the "trigger happy" canard — the most powerful weapon of the Liberal campaign) has to be confuted. There is no question but that conservatism is arrayed against the basic development since FDR; but it has to be made clear that conservatives by their very nature proceed in all changes with caution. Further, it is essential to work out and present a much fuller and more confident specific program for return to constitutional government than was presented in the campaign.

What the election did not prove is what the whole Liberal Establishment is attempting to maintain—that November 3 signified a repudiation of conservatism by the American people. The first and most obvious argument against this conclusion is the vote of 26 million people for a position imperfectly presented by its proponents and pilloried in the most extreme terms by its opponents. Despite the caricature of Goldwater's position, despite the fact that everything was done to make it appear that the conservative course is extremist, radical, nihilist, anarchic—still two-fifths of the voters saw through the distortions and solidly voted for the unthinkable proposition that there is an alternative to Liberal domination.

Further, although the defection of the Liberal Republican leaders—essentially, their support of Johnson—was an important factor in generating the Liberal storm of distortion, their absence from the Republican campaign did not, apart from one or two states like New York and Michigan where the knifing was rampant and open, appreciably diminish the available active workers for Goldwater. Never have so many people contributed so much money; never have the Republicans succeeded in carrying out so thorough a canvassing of the voters.

A CHANGE has been in the making in the mechanics of American politics for a number of years. It first affected the Democratic Party, as the old-style precinct workers were more and more replaced by motivated workers from the unions and from Liberal circles. This year the same process has come to a head in the Republican Party, with the emergence of a powerful force of committed conservatives as the decisive sector of Republican campaign workers. This is a strategic fact of the greatest importance. On the one hand it means that American conservatism has moved into the actual political arena, creating an experienced political corps of a kind it has never had before. On the other hand it means (whatever gymnastics take place in ensuing months on the National Committee level) that the Republican Party has become a party which will in practice, outside of a few constituencies, function as a conservative party or will not function at all. The GOP will either go forward as the conservative party or it will disappear, and conservatism will be forced to create another political vehicle.

Most important, nothing that occurred demonstrated anything wrong or weak—morally or philosophically or logically—in the conservative position. Nor, when we consider that the campaign represented but a few months of the first opportunity on a broad national scale to confute thirty years of Liberal indoctrination, can the gaining of two-fifths of the vote be considered a "practical disaster" of "momentous consequence."

The one serious danger to our country and our cause would be any tendency to weaken or dilute the conservative position because of Goldwater's defeat. Conservatives stand today nearer to victory than they ever have since Franklin Roosevelt. A shift in the vote of 12 per cent of the electorate is the goal of the next four years.

To achieve it, three things are needed, and they are all realistically within the capability of a movement that has risen in the past few years from an insignificant minority to its present position. The process of conservative re-education of the American people that culminated in the election campaign has to be intensified. Conservative principle has to be spelled out and made concrete across the whole gamut of issues affecting Americans. Above all—and vital to the achievement of these two tasks as well as to the preservation of the positions of power won in the past year—conservatives have to develop forms of organization both within the Republican Party and in the broad national life, forms that can consolidate and advance the energies released by the 1964 campaign for the achievement of victory in 1966 and 1968.

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Letter from the Continent

An Alien Reviews the Election

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

It was obvious that Mr. Johnson had all the advantages in this election. Or more precisely, Senator Goldwater had all the disadvantages, among them the American tradition of resisting the radically new, and re-electing incumbent Presidents; the opposition of organized labor and the (unjustified) animosity of organized non-whites; prosperous times; the Democratic facility for "gravy train" politicking; and a progressive-minded press.

Kuehnelt - Leddihn

The Republicans expected a stronger reaction against the moral decay of the country and its rising criminality, against deficit spending, against the mounting infringements of states' rights, against the bankrupt policy of trying to buy friends in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In this expectation the Republican leaders were over-optimistic. The American masses, like masses elsewhere, are prone to enjoy the good life while the living's easy. And Mr. Averageman is not concerned about the crime rate unless he suffers in person. The American and the European press, vying in stupidity with each other, called Mr. Goldwater alternately an isolationist and an aggressor, but the fact remains that he proved unable to reach the delicate sentiments deep down in the American soul.

Goldwater failed to campaign like a typical politician. On the television screen he appeared as a simple honest businessman without artificial glamor, profoundly concerned with the fate of the nation's children and its children's children. Most Americans do not think that far. Mr. Goldwater's exhortations against the "socialization" of America fell partly on deaf ears because Americans, in a certain sense, are quite "socialistic" as Count Keyserling told us more than thirty years ago in his brilliant *America Set Free*. There is, indeed, an individualistic strain in Americans, to which the Senator appealed. He, truly, wanted to "set America free." He is, after all, a genuine liberal in the global, though not in the American sense (where it has come to mean a "moderate leftist" and near-socialist). And he failed . . . failed in person. He arrived *too early*, not too late.

His personal failure notwithstanding, this was a Goldwater-election pure and simple. Americans were either pro-Goldwater or anti-Goldwater and nothing else. And in this campaign the foreigner could observe new notes, new ideas, new men—the emergent force of American conservatism which we in Europe would label "liberalism" or better, a neo-Liberalism, which by its very nature has conservative undertones. The American variety of conservatism, which up to, and until, this time had been represented only in isolated and highly emancipated academic and intellectual circles, made its first major public appearance this year. The ideas could be heard and seen in pamphlets, speeches, articles, broadcasts. Something truly new was injected into American politics—and the radically new always frightens the Babbitts.

The New GOP

It was the newness of the conservative idea which created the dynamism manifested at the San Francisco convention and which brought about Mr. Goldwater's nomination. It ought to be added, however, that we are here confronted with the typical case of an idea in search of a man, and not of a man looking for an idea. But the man, one had to admit, was not bad; he was agreeably free of the morbid personal ambition characteristic of so many politicians. Whether he will live up to the name of his home city and rise like a phoenix from the ashes of his defeat, still remains to be seen.

It was a new Republican Party which fought the last election. Behind the old label of the Grand Old Party was something so new that the classical Republicans, especially in New England, refused to go along. They showed a diminished allegiance to local senators, congressmen and governors, and were in full blown rebellion against the man from Arizona. The defeat of the Party was thus unavoidable.

American conservatism at year end will still be too young to carry a party as big and unwieldy as the GOP. The very vision of American conservatism is still blurred and labors under certain timidities, occasional leftist notions and the *unassimilated* realization that any conservatism today must have the audacity to incorporate a revolutionary spirit. The call for revolutionary conservatism is neither new nor startling in Europe, but it sounds strange to American ears. Still, America's emerging conservative idea lacks a definite profile as yet and its victory in 1964 would have been premature and disastrous.

If the votes in November '64 had been weighed and not counted (as Aristotle proposed), if, that is, they had been graded according to the intensity of the convictions behind them, then the Republicans would have won. Never have I seen in the United States people so profoundly dedicated to a cause. And so many youthful enthusiasts! Can the Rockefellers, the Keatings, the Romneys recapture the Party? It is difficult to imagine so. Should they try fanatically, the result would be a split—the temporary emergence of a three-party system. Under such circumstances it is always the least dynamic party which is pulverized between the stronger grindstones.

The day after the "defeat" I met a group of Young Conservatives in a midwestern college. They seemed exhausted from their campaigning and from the grim nightwatch before a television screen which brought them the heartbreaking news. Yet their spirit was unbroken. "Our campaign for 1968 has just begun," they said with a wry smile. Indeed it is already under way.

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Intelligence or Prejudice?

An eminent sociologist discusses Negro intelligence and accuses certain of his colleagues of prejudice against logic and discrimination against facts

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

I

Q. Melvin Tumin, a Princeton sociologist, has interviewed experts on Testing, Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology, about Negro intelligence. His questions, the answers and his introduction have been published (by the Anti-Defamation League) under the title "Race and Intelligence: A Scientific Evaluation." What do you think of it?

A. Well, Mel Tumin is a good man; at least his heart is in the right place —left of center. According to science, that's where the heart ought to be.

Q. What about his mind?

A. It's where his heart is.

Q. Do you mean he's prejudiced?

A. On the contrary. He's against all prejudices he doesn't share. (So am I. But we don't share the same prejudices.) If "prejudiced" means nasty or deliberately dishonest, I think he is neither.

Q. Would he go wherever science leads?

A. On racial matters he'd always be able to convince himself that science leads him where he wants to go.

Q. Suppose the experts he questioned had answered: "science proves that Negroes are innately inferior." Would he have published this result?

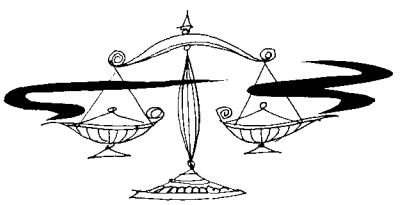
A. An interesting question. Ask one that I can answer with facts rather than hopes and wishes.

Testing Native Intelligence

Q. O.K., let me ask you first about a statement that startled me. Dr. Henry C. Dyer, a big shot in "educational testing," says (*op. cit.* p. 25): "There are no tests of native intelligence. In fact the concept of native intelligence is essentially meaningless. Every response to the stimulus material in intelligence tests is of necessity a *learned* response." Elsewhere (*ib.* p. 30) he adds: "You cannot make inferences about something that is meaningless." Since in his view the concept of innate intelligence is meaningless, he insists that test results cannot (not *do not*, but *cannot*) measure it. What about that?

A. Perhaps Dr. Dyer speaks *pro domo sua* when he denies native intelligence. I do not see why a learned response could not be used to test native intelligence, *i.e.*, innate ability to learn. If we can standardize the learning opportunities (and motivation), we test native intelligence, without isolating it, by testing the learned responses. (Conversely, if we can standardize genetic inheritance, we can test the influence of learning.) I certainly agree that it is very difficult to do so. I do not think it is impossible though. Moreover, difficulties in testing something do not make whatever is hard to test "meaningless"—they just make it hard to test. If we have no way of testing the temperature of the moon, it does not follow that the concept of lunar temperature is "meaningless."

That much is simple logic. But Dyer's assertion also is—and quite clearly—contrary to fact. H. G. Eysenck (Professor of Psychology at the University of London, and a well known expert on testing) concludes



(*Encounter*, June 1964, p. 53): "Do tests of mental ability in fact tap innate factors? The evidence is by now quite conclusive that they are surprisingly successful in doing so. Consider a recent study by James Shields, in which he administered two intelligence tests to groups of fraternal twins brought up together, and to identical twins some of whom had been brought up separately. Identical twins share completely a common heredity, while fraternal twins are only 50 per cent alike with respect to heredity; on the tests the identical twins were found to be more than twice as similar to each other, *whether brought up together or separate*, than were the fraternal twins." (Italics mine.)

Research on identical (monozygotic) twins, *i.e.*, persons known to share exactly the same genetic inheritance, permits us to separate the effect of environment (learning) and of inheritance on the intelligence of the subjects. The results yielded by this research indicate that "[the intelligence test results of] the average pair of identical twins reared together [are] almost as similar as are the two scores of a single person tested twice [*i.e.*, differences do not exceed what may be attributed to testing errors, usually accounting for about 5 points] and *that those reared apart show a difference not very much greater.*" (Italics mine.) (L. E. Tyler, *The Psychology of Human Differences*, N.Y., 1956, p. 453.)

Thus, whereas the I.Q. of the population varies from about 50 to 180, the variation in I.Q. among identical twins reared separately does not exceed a few points, even when the difference in environmental advantages is known to be marked.

Q. What do you conclude?

A. The evidence so far yielded by twin studies indicates:

1. Intelligence (even if we define it simply as that which is measured by I.Q. tests) is very largely genetically inherited.

2. Even when environments differ very markedly (*e.g.*, when one identical twin is highly educated and the other is hardly educated at all), the difference in test results among individuals known to have the same genetic endowment remains very small.

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3. It follows that differences in environment account only for a very small part of the observed differences in test results among individuals who do not have the same genetic endowment.

4. It seems unlikely also that environmental differences can account for all the observed differences of test results among groups, including ethnic ones.

Q. Does that settle the question?

A. No, I don't think so. There are many unanswered questions on the relation of I.Q. tests to intelligence, and the legitimacy of the concept of general intelligence. Further, there are many questions on the relationship between performance in actuality and test performance, etc.

Q. Then Dr. Dyer may be right after all?

A. He is clearly and overwhelmingly wrong. We know enough to be certain of that, but not enough to be certain of the correct answer, in quantitative terms, to the question he answered wrongly.

Odd Silence

Q. Why didn't Dr. Dyer tell about the observations on monozygotic twins—or was he ignorant of them?

A. I find his silence on this odd myself.

Q. Odd?

A. I can say no more. After all, perhaps he was in ignorance and thus innocent (if we discount culpable neglect). Or, perhaps he interprets the observations on twins so that they are not inconsistent with his ideas—though I wish he had told us how he does it.

Q. Let me return from facts to logic. If Dr. Dyer were right, that "there are no tests of native intelligence," would it follow that the difference in test results among ethnic groups (on the average) is due to environmental differences, and that native intelligence is equal (as well as meaningless)?

A. The Tumin panel seems to assume that if one cannot show (or has not shown) by tests that there are innate differences in intelligence among ethnic groups, it follows that there are no such differences. At least that seems to be the clear implication. But it does not follow—it only follows that we cannot show, etc. Our inability to prove native inferiority or superiority is, of course, no proof of native equality.

If we did not, or cannot, test the temperature of the moon, it does not follow that it must be the same as that of earth. If native intelligence of ethnic groups has not been tested, or is untestable, it would not follow that it does not exist, is meaningless, or that it is the same in all ethnic groups. (Actually the temperature of the moon can be tested; so can native intelligence.)

Cultural Differences

Q. You seem to assert, then, 1) that native intelligence exists, 2) that it is measurable, 3) that if it weren't, it wouldn't follow that it is equal among groups or individuals. That leaves little of the Dyer argument, does it?

A. Nothing. Dr. Dyer first confuses demonstrability with existence or meaningfulness. Then he asserts, contrary to the evidence, the nondemonstrability of native intelligence because of our alleged inability to measure it, ignoring the fact that we have been "surprisingly successful" in measuring it. But let me add an important point here. Certainly, measurement is desirable and we should work toward quantitative specification where possible and significant. Yet love, honor, and happiness—most of the important things in life—cannot be measured. It does not follow that they are meaningless concepts, or that they do not exist; at least not to me.

Q. I understand. Now, forgive me for laboring this point once more—I want to get it quite clear: if innate intelligence—except for identical twins—is so hard to isolate and measure, shouldn't we attribute differences in test results among ethnic groups to environmental factors, at least as a practical matter?

A. This is an illicit inference. From the fact that intelligence—the innate ability to learn—is hard to test without interference by unstandardized amounts of learning and variable motivation, we cannot infer that differences in test results must be attributed to differential cultural opportunities or other uncontrolled factors. We do not know whether the differences that tests find occur because of differences in cultural opportunities or because of differences in native intelligence. The existence of differences in cultural opportunities does not preclude the existence of differences in native intelligence as well.

Suppose we take a number of people to a dark room and ask them to distinguish colors. They cannot. Are we to infer that the darkness prevented them? Possibly. But it is also possible that they are color blind. We can draw conclusions only after we have tested them in a lighted room. Similarly, the native intelligence of groups which experience uncontrolled amounts and kinds of learning opportunities or disabilities, is not determined by, or identical with, these opportunities (or meaningless, or nonexistent) however hard it may be to test it separately.

Environment

Q. But what about a practical guess? I don't doubt your logic. Yet people might feel that common sense tells them what science cannot demonstrate (even though some rash scientists think it can).

A. A practical guess would permit us to attribute as much of the difference in the test performance of ethnic groups to environmental differences as can be shown to have been produced by environmental differences in the test performance of identical twins reared apart. If the differences in the environments of the twins are reasonably parallel to the two ethnic groups, we might make not a conclusive, but a tentative estimate of how much of the difference in the average test performance of the ethnic groups can be imputed to the environment.

Q. Well, can you?

A. I'm reluctant. There are very few studies of monozygotic twins reared apart which show much of a difference in test results—even with radically different environments. When the environmental difference appears to be about what it is between white and Negro children on the average, the difference in the test results of the twins remains insignificant. Yet—there are too few studies, and too many unanswered questions; I feel uneasy about guessing.

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Q. Nonetheless you conclude that 1) all or 2) most or 3) much of the average difference in test results between white and Negro children indicates innate differences?

A. This is very possible but not certain. I should be inclined to believe that 3) is true. But there are too few twin studies; and the differences between the environments of twins reared apart, and of Negroes and whites, are hard to compare. Finally there are intangible differences. The Negro-white environmental difference simply does not parallel the environmental difference experienced by twins reared apart.

Q. What then is your conclusion?

A. I hate to strain your patience, but I must stick to science: I cannot at present reach conclusions that go beyond the common-sense guess already offered at your invitation.

II

Q. I think you have satisfied me on the *possibility* of differences in innate intelligence among ethnic groups—despite the Tumin claims to the contrary. But I want to know more about the actuality. For instance, I know some very intelligent Negroes.

A. So do I. We may say correctly:

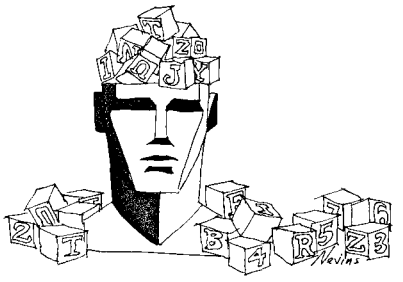
1. There are some very intelligent Negroes. (This is probably true for any randomly selected large human group of any color.)

2. The performance of some Negroes equals or exceeds that of some whites. (This would be true in comparing any two large enough randomly selected groups of whatever color.)

3. Whatever the intelligence of groups of Negroes, their performance improves when their opportunities do—when they move from a less to a more propitious environment. (This would be equally true for any group, including retarded children.)

These propositions are obviously irrelevant to the issue, namely, whether Negroes as a group have, on the average, a lower native intelligence, at least in certain respects, than whites. If, and only if, the total Negro test performance equaled that of whites, *ceteris paribus*, genetic differences could be excluded by comparison of test performances.

I do not think that in this matter we have conclusive evidence one way or the other, though the indications are that the two groups have different aptitudes (or a different distribution of aptitudes). Please note that I am not saying that I have proved genetic inferiority of Negroes. I am asserting that Tumin's respondents have not disproved the claim of genetically lower intelligence—although they think they have.



Q. Throughout, you have been saying that Negro performance in school is below that of whites. Are you sure of that?

A. Let me quote from a study by Herbert Wey and John Corey ("Action Patterns in School Desegregation," a Phi Beta Kappa Commission project, p. 212): "There are some top Negro students, some mediocre ones, and some quite retarded. This is also true of white children. However, the proportion of slow learners is greater among the Negroes. Differences are not as apparent in kindergarten and first grade as in the upper grades and high school." These data are generally accepted. The disagreement is on the causes—environmental or genetic—of the difference in performance.

Separation by Ability

Q. How then would you deal with the problem of differences in performance?

A. It is interesting to note that the answer would be the same regardless of whether the differences are genetic or environmental. In the latter case my solution might, in time, be changed; in either case it would hold as long as the performance differences do.

Mixed education now would impair the education of Negro and of white children. The white children obviously require for optimum education maximum utilization of their present performance abilities. The Negro children require whatever can be done to increase their performance in view of the deficient environment of the past—regardless of whether there are genetic factors involved as well. Hence, at least for the time being, the needs of Negro children would be met best—*i.e.*, to their advantage and without disadvantage to others—by separate education geared to meet the obstacles presented by lack of opportunity and unfavorable environment. I am all in favor of improving the quality of education for all. But this can be done only if pupils are separated according to ability (whatever determines it). And this means very largely according to race.

The Gifted Child

Q. What about those Negro children who perform well? Should they not be transferred to white schools?

A. I think this could demoralize the remaining Negro children and could be hard also on the transferred child. Nonetheless, if both the white and Negro children (and/or parents) desire it, this objection would be greatly weakened. (If the gifted Negro child is transferred into a hostile white school environment, I doubt that there would be an educational advantage.)

But the main issue has little to do with the transfer of a few gifted Negro children. The learning ability of Negro children *on the average* is not as responsive at present as that of white children to the stimulation given by average white schools. We don't know whether it will ever be. (Poor original environment may cause, this, as may inherent factors. Desegregation is neither necessary nor sufficient to eliminate these disadvantages; and it would not help the average pupil of either group.) Therefore, Negroes and whites should be educated separately—unless there is evidence in specific cases that the learning of neither group suffers from congregation and that neither group objects. Instruction in schools for Negroes should attempt to remedy the disadvantages suffered by students coming from a culturally deprived home environment. This cannot be done except by separate education.

These disadvantages should be remedied by the time institutions of higher learning are entered. If they aren't the student is not college material. If they are, there is no reason for separate college education unless there are specific psychological reasons for it, such as mutual hostility.

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Q. Would your educational argument be the only justification for separate schools?

A. It would certainly make them rational from an educational viewpoint. But the school question has all kinds of implications with regard to coercion, freedom of association, psychic damage, effects on prejudice, and so on, into which we cannot go now.

Q. Your solution sounds educationally rational even without the arguments you don't want to go into. But some people assert that regardless of how good the educational facilities are, separate education is "inherently unequal" and that "modern authority" has shown that it inflicts psychic or educational injury on Negro children to the extent of depriving them of the "equal protection of the laws." This was the decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown* v. *Board of Education.*

A. I know. But if the Supreme Court allowed itself to be bamboozled by "modern authority" which in no way demonstrated what it persuaded the court it had demonstrated, we need not be as credulous.

Psychic Injury Unproved

Q. What do you mean?

A. I mean that there has been no demonstration whatsoever that separate education, when facilities and instruction are equalized, is "inherently unequal" or does psychic injury to Negroes. I have analyzed the allegations of "modern authority" in this respect on various occasions. Permit me to refer you to my "Social Science Testimony in the Desegregation Cases—A Reply to Professor Kenneth Clark," reprinted from the *Villanova Law Review.** I don't want to repeat myself.

Q. Do you mean to say the Supreme Court was wrong in the facts on which its judgment is based, and should reverse itself?

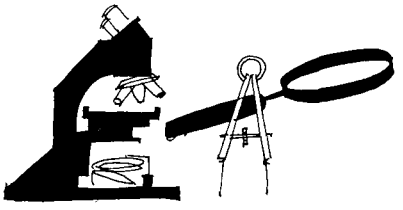
A. Professor Philip Kurland, of the Law School of the University of Chicago, wrote that "Dr. Clark's study was utilized by the Supreme Court to provide a factual base on which to rest its conclusion [in the *Brown* case]." (See Kenneth Clark, *Prejudice and Your Child.* Boston, 1963, p. 143.) I myself cannot see how without the "facts" asserted by "modern authority" the court could have reached its decision. But the evidence for these "facts"—mainly but not exclusively Clark's—has been clearly shown to be wrong. Thus the court if it follows the actual evidence of "modern authority," ought to reverse itself. I think it will happen, though possibly with more deliberation than speed.

*Available from P.O. Box 3495, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N.Y.

III

Q. Forgive me for being so unsystematic, but I am bothered now by this question: suppose the average native intelligence of Negroes is inferior to that of whites. Would that mean that Negroes are inferior to whites?

A. One may regard others as inferior to oneself, or to one's group,



on the basis of any criterion, such as mating, eating, drinking or language habits, religious practices, or competence in sports, business, politics, art or finally, by preferring one's own type, quality or degree of intelligence, skin or hair color and so forth.

By selecting appropriate criteria each group can establish the inferiority of others, and its own superiority. This can be and is done by Texans, Democrats, workers, Yale alumni, Frenchmen, extremists, moderates, and Chinese. The selection of criteria for superiority or inferiority is arbitrary, of course. The judgment of inferiority applied to others thus remains a value judgment, even if the qualities judged to render people inferior are actual characteristics of the group so judged. I do not believe that intelligence is any more relevant to judgments of inferiority than, say, skin color is.

If Negroes on the average turn out to have a genetically lower learning ability than whites in some respects, *e.g.* the manipulation of abstract symbols, and if one chooses this ability as the ranking criterion, it would make Negroes on the average inferior to some whites and superior to others. Suppose four-fifths of Negroes fall into the lower half of intelligence distribution. Chances are that, say, one-third of the whites will too. Hence, if intelligence is the criterion, the four-fifths of the Negro group would be no more "inferior" than the one-third of the white group. (It seems clear that some such overlap would exist, regardless of what we will ever learn about native intelligence.)

Judgments of inferiority among whites are rarely based solely on intelligence. There certainly are many people who do not rank high on intelligence tests but are, nonetheless, preferable, and preferred, to others who do. I know of no one who selects his associates—let alone friends—purely in terms of intelligence. God knows, we certainly do not elect to political office those who are most intelligent. I would conclude that whatever we may find out about Negro intelligence would not entail any judgment about general inferiority. At present we do not know whether the average native intelligence of Negroes differs from that of whites with certainty any more than we know whether average native musical ability does. I cannot see why one should be of more importance for judgments of inferiority, superiority or equality than the other.

Moral Disadvantage?

Q. What about the lower cultural performance of Negroes in their native habitat?

A. It is neither necessary nor useful to avoid value judgments in intercultural comparisons, as long as one keeps in mind that, like all value judgments, they are—as far as science is concerned—but more or less widely shared preferences. Thus one may evaluate the culture of primitive African tribes, Australian bushmen, or North American Indians *in toto* as inferior, equal or superior to Western culture in its various phases. Such judgments depend on one's value standards (ultimate preferences). If these are postulated, the judgment can be logically and empirically justified, though the standard on which it rests cannot.

If one uses as explicit criteria certain achievements such as the invention of a written language, or of the wheel, the creation of a literature, of

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arts and humanities, of mathematics, the rule of law, or medical progress, etc., then the cultural achievements of Negroes *in loco* compare unfavorably with those of Caucasians, Chinese, Near and Far Eastern groups, etc. This would constitute a disadvantage; it does not involve a moral inferiority unless the disadvantage is judged to be a moral one—a judgment not inherent in its description. (And of course one may also prefer the primitive to our own style of life, or discover special virtues in it that we lack.)

Neither the African environment nor subjugation in any form explains the lack of cultural achievement measured by these standards. It does not follow that a bio-genetic explanation is correct: a hypothesis is not proven correct simply because other hypotheses do not explain the phenomenon at issue. But I see no reason—other than fashion—to discard the possibility of differential genetic distribution of talents among ethnic groups as a possible partial explanation. (If such a hypothesis should prove correct, it would be quite consistent with the aforementioned high intelligence of some Negroes, and with the ability of all to improve their performance under propitious circumstances.) There is no reason to believe that God ever was an egalitarian (the biblical God certainly was not). I don't think He has read Professor Tumin since, or J. J. Rousseau, and been persuaded to become one. The evidence seems to the contrary. It is entirely possible that the differential performance of cultures must be explained, in part, by differential genetic distribution of aptitudes.

If we were to prove genetic differences of the relevant kind among ethnic groups, it would not necessarily follow that they are permanent and irreversible. However, genetic differences cannot be removed by education of the individuals involved, however much their effect may be mitigated. We do not know at present to what extent genetic inheritance may be influenced by various factors that can be brought to bear.

Q. Do you have any general conclusions?

A. No; I'd like you to draw your own. However, the befuddlement of many social scientists deserves comment. Fifty years ago many among them were busy demonstrating "scientifically" the inferiority of Negroes to whites. As many are as busy now proving "scientifically" that there are no innate psychological differences whatever among ethnic groups, and that, unless children grow up in compulsory togetherness, they are unfree, and suffer psychological injury. The evidence for these contentions is as "scientific" as the evidence for the ideology fashionable fifty years ago. The fashion has changed but many social scientists have not: they remain its servants. Now and then they were well intentioned; this is probably part of the trouble, for they obstinately refuse to act as scientists, being committed to various causes more than to the cause of science; although they yearn passionately for the trappings and the prestige of science. Yet for scientists moderation in the pursuit of truth is a fatal vice; it cannot be offset by extremism in the pursuit of egalitarian ideologies.

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Of small scale, intramural stuff;
That local rumbles, riots simply wouldn't be enuff
To keep you lean,
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That even big town politics,
With all its special kind of kics
Like working groups of people up,
'Til violence overflows the cup,
Then rushing in with lots of cop
To beat them up unless they stop,
Would be dull,
Seagull.

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Is genuine
By means of at least one other unmistakable sign:
To banish war and want and fear from every heart,
You'll naturally have to be very smart
And know the world from top to bottom
Like which part has tsetse flies and which part
hasn't gottom.
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And where the right-wing prejudices tend to thicken,
How to keep the mongers from inciting wars,
And how to get the Congers to enact the lars
To make our chauvinistic people loyal
To the woyal;
Meanwhile solving global quarrels
With wisdom learned at Harvard-on-the-Charrels.
And now a tip,
Oniondip,
To end these rhymes:
Before you do anything at all get into the habbit,
Rabbit,
Of reading the *New York Thymes.*

JOHANNES EFF

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The World Was His Oyster

JOAN DIDION

Only willful children want things too hard. Elizabeth Taylor wants things, and Clyde Griffiths did, and came to grief. So we are taught. Good children share their toys, dissemble in the presence of that which they covet; learn early that if the Lord is to be their shepherd they should not want, in any way we understand the word. We have a literature which illustrates the fate of those who perceive too late the vanity of wordly drives: *I am dying, Egypt, dying,* and Kate Croy brushed irrevocably by the wings of the dove, and *lasciate ogni speranza voi ch'entrate.*

It is against this ethic that the figure of Joseph P. Kennedy springs forth in such theatrical relief—for what we see is a figure in certain ways morally alien to us, an organism pulsing with visceral want, a spirit which might almost have transmigrated to us out of the Renaissance, out of the world of the Medici, so untempered are its ambitions by the ambiguities and second thoughts which cloud the resolves of most of us. Joseph Kennedy "stepped from a circumscribed world and opened a limitless one to the next generation," Richard J. Whalen observes in his biography, *The Founding Father,* "yet he seemed always in midpassage, fired by old passions even as he seized new opportunities."

Fired by old passions, seizing new opportunities. They are phrases which seem to materialize between the lines on page after page of this fine and hauntingly detailed study of Kennedy, evoking the image of a man whose most stunning characteristic was the naked and sustained force of his want. It would be difficult for most of us to want a college baseball letter so aggressively that we would have our father's friends bring business pressure to bear upon the baseball captain: we might suspect that an honor so obtained would lose its magical efficacy. Such equivocation did not deter Joseph Kennedy: he wanted the letter. It would be difficult for most of us to perceive world history over the course of a lifetime in no other terms than as sympathetic to, or hostile to, our specific ambitions for our immediate families; some canker in the rose would hint to us that perhaps we did not, after all, figure that centrally in the scheme of things. Such prevarication, such decisions and revisions, did not deflect Kennedy, a man to whom all things presented themselves in equally direct and personal terms. The Depression, the crumbling of Europe, an imagined snub by the Harvard Board of Overseers: all presented threats to the family, alerted the organism to regroup for what would be in some cases the counterattack and in many cases the overkill. In his astonishing singlemindedness and blind instinct for constructive survival, Kennedy suggests a kind of radical innocence not often seen in our time.

The Founding Father: The Story of Joseph P. Kennedy, by Richard J. Whalen. New American Library—World, $6.95

The singularity of that innocence is part of Kennedy's fascination, a fascination difficult to define. Our interest in the man could not usefully be political; beyond the speeches and the titles and the commerce with kings and presidents, he was not a political but an intensely private man, a creature whose instincts were exclusively personal. Similarly, our interest is in no real sense historical; although Kennedy's great achievement was, as Mr. Whalen points out, "to lift his children out of the common human experience of living *in* history and to open up for them the opportunity of *making* history," he remained himself no more than sweller of a scene or two. Nor is his a great business story, like that of the Rothschilds: his business operations, like his political maneuvers, were means to an end, and the end was the aggrandizement of his name.

IN NONE OF these aspects is his story remarkable. What makes the story great is simply that Joseph Kennedy is a great literary character, a character in the oldest tradition, a flawed figure on a grand stage, moving toward his destiny unaware of his flaws. It is precisely because Mr. Whalen recognizes Kennedy as a literary character that his book is so brilliantly memorable: he is concerned above all with the creation of that character, and goes about it with the force and drive of fiction, painstakingly and vividly, compassionately and unsentimentally. We see the brutality of a Kennedy who was moving too fast to trouble with the people he left behind; we see the pathos of a Kennedy unable to rationalize failure or tragedy. (It was 1960 before he admitted publicly that his daughter Rosemary was retarded, and then, typically, he would make bets with people that they had "that problem" somewhere in their own family: thirteen years after his eldest son's death he still wept at the mention of his name.) We see a Kennedy who cared for nothing in the world but his family; we see a Kennedy who grasped that the best way to care for them was to leave them alone in their nest for months at a time while he raided the countryside, from Wall Street to Hollywood, for provender.

What emerges is a curious and difficult character, in certain ways against the American grain. Think of "American" stories and you think of Henry Adams, Marilyn Monroe, Charles Lindbergh, Scott Fitzgerald, even

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Howard Hughes; there runs through our collective consciousness a neurasthenic strain. Joseph Kennedy does not strike the chords which most move us. There was the uncharacteristic force of his wants, for one thing; for another, there was that sense of dynasty as alien to our feeling that each generation strikes out alone, that every child is destined to break away and head, in the largest sense, West. Above all, Kennedy was uncharacteristic in that his life did not, as Santayana believed that all American lives did, "peter out." There was a rich second act in Joseph Kennedy's life, and an even richer third.

And there was that tragic curtain. It is perhaps impossible to think now of Joseph Kennedy without seeing him as Mr. Whalen leaves him in *The Founding Father,* in the brilliant cold Atlantic light on the morning his son was buried at Arlington. Crippled and unable to speak, he was driven through the streets of Hyannis Port that morning, slowly, so that he might see the store windows draped in crepe. Later, with a priest, he watched the funeral on television, and after that he was alone. It is a scene we might remember all our lives.

Live Encounters

JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

THERE WAS A TIME in American political history, or so legend would have us believe, when the formalized, catch-as-catch-can debate provided a nation with its favorite sport. In the Senate, the forensic battles between Hayne and Webster provided a whole generation of schoolboys with set orations. On the hustings, the seven marathon engagements of Lincoln and Douglas achieved a fame they perhaps did not deserve. In high schools and colleges, debating once ranked at least with tennis and rugby in terms of campus status.

***Dialogues in Americanism*, a transcript of three debates at Pasadena, 1963-64, edited by Michael Gazzaniga. Regnery, $3.95**

Alas, no more. Only a handful of stemwinders remain in the Congress. The Statehouses are reduced, by and large, to second-raters who mumble into microphones. Television has taken over the political campaign; and the lost and lively art of debating survives but feebly in the public schools.

The publication of *Dialogues in Americanism* may help to correct this decline in a great institution. Here are three debates, set down just as the arguments fell from the orators' lips; the sizzling combats must have been great sport at the ringside, and they make for some marvelous reading now.

That affable tiger, Mr. William F. Buckley Jr., tangled in the first debate with that eminent tragedian, Mr. Steve Allen. Their subject was, Resolved: The foreign policy of John F. Kennedy has been successful. Mr. Buckley, needless to say, took the negative and took Mr. Allen as well. They met on Saturday night, November 17, just six days before Mr. Kennedy's assassination the following Friday, and the debate must be read with that fact in mind. Mr. Buckley had a razor edge on his blade, but he was slashing away at a man who was at that moment very much alive. "We are here to talk about the foreign policy of Mr. Kennedy," said the boss of these columns, "and never mind why it appeals to eccentrics. We wish to know, what is worse still, why it appeals to non-eccentrics." Mr. Allen, though he sought to lecture his audience in everything from the "simplistic" solutions of Mr. Goldwater to the elementary facts of geography ("Could you point to Indonesia on the map?"), seemed never able to marshal much of a case. He did his best, but he had the poorer cause.

In the second debate, on January 22, 1964, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins went to the mat with Mr. L. Brent Bozell. Their question dealt with the Supreme Court's 1954 decision in the school segregation cases: Should the decision be supported? Dr. Hutchins thought it good law, Mr. Bozell thought it poor law. The thing was that Mr. Bozell had done his homework, and Dr. Hutchins had come to talk off the top of his head. Dr. Hutchins began unfortunately by describing the Constitution as a "charter of learning." This was the view of John Marshall:

"'We must never forget that it is a Constitution that we are interpreting.' This, I suppose, is the single most quoted statement that Mr. Chief Justice Marshall ever made," said Dr. Hutchins, misquoting it. Dr. Hutchins is capable of doing better; and so, in truth, is Mr. Bozell. They had a fine scrap, but ring officials counted no knockdowns.

The best of the three debates came on February 23, between James MacGregor Burns and Willmoore Kendall. The question: Resolved, The deadlock in Washington is to be deplored. Dr. Burns, as it turned out, did not really want to talk about the deadlock in Washington as a general proposition. He wanted to talk about the deadlock then shaping up on the civil rights bill; he wanted to debate civil rights, the functions of government, and the enlargement of freedom. On these matters he made some excellent points; but they were not germane. The tenacious Mr. Kendall brought off a *tour de force*: He went to Dr. Burns' works on the deadlock in Washington, contrived from these an opening statement for his opponent, and set briskly about its demolition. Our genial colleague may have been overly optimistic in some of his con-

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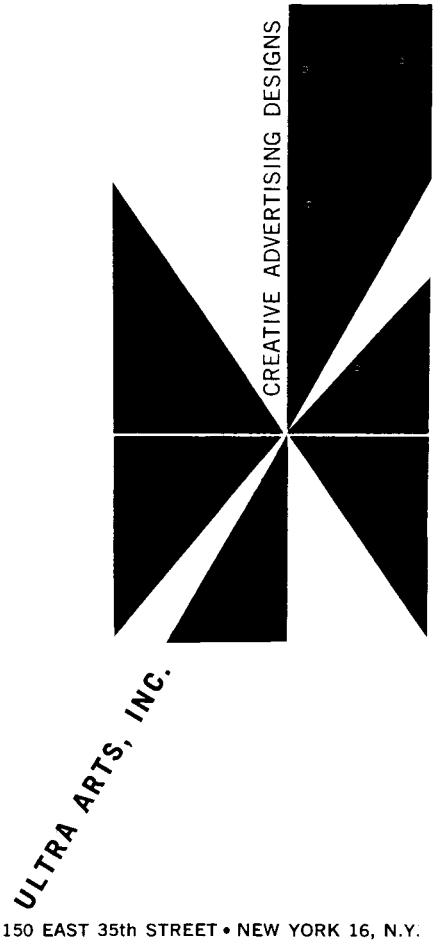

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clusions: Political reality in America, said Mr. Kendall, "is that the Liberals don't have the votes." The Liberals had enough votes to run the 88th Congress almost as they pleased.

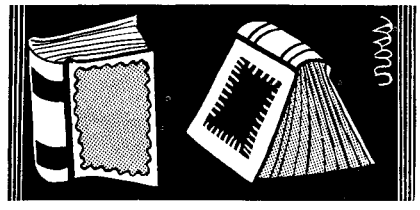
Reading these debates, all conducted in Pasadena under the sponsorship of a graduate committee, one finds oneself making marginal notes of the excellent points that got away. If only Bozell had thought to say thus-and-so! If only Kendall had pressed his rapier here! This is part of the fascination of a live encounter. Impromptu debate is not ever related to the definitive essay or the set speech. The irrelevancies, digressions, weak arguments, telling shafts, offer a faithful reflection of able men engaged in able argument.

Evidently the audience for these encounters was strongly conservative in its bias (at one point, Mr. Allen magnificently squelched some hecklers), and doubtless I am as partisan a judge in feeling that Messrs. Buckley, Bozell and Kendall swept the field. These verdicts scarcely matter. *Dialogues in Americanism* offers even more fun than Dirksen's debates in the U.S. Senate. What other book this fall can claim as much?

Only the Little Tramp Matters

FRANCIS RUSSELL

THE PARAMOUNT ROOSTER flapped its wings, raised its neck and crowed in dumb-show. Soldiers marched, speeded to a ridiculous trot by hand-cranked cameras. High-topped limousines raced forward as their wheel spokes moved slowly backwards. Then the news was over and the screen with the patch in the left-hand bottom corner went blank, to be followed, after a fumbling interlude in the projection booth, by the glowing letters CHARLIE CHAPLIN IN. . . . And Andersen's Mattapan Theater on any Saturday afternoon echoed with shouts and stamps and whistles. Standing on the rickety wooden chairs, screaming with anticipatory delight, we were carried away by the prospect of seeing again the little man with the mobile face, the black daub of a moustache, the baggy pants and big shoes, the derby, the elastic cane. He was the funniest man in the world; that we knew. Mary Pickford might be America's sweetheart, but she was not the sweetheart of the Edmund P. Tileston School. Charlie Chaplin was the man for us. Neither the gelatinous Fatty Arbuckle nor cross-eyed Ben Turpin could approach him.



The year was the last year of World War I. I can no longer remember any of the titles of those Chaplin two-reelers except *Shoulder Arms*. Mabel Normand riding pillion behind Charlie on a motorcycle is the only character whose name I recall.

That Charlie was creating an art form was an idea that came later, both to him and to us. By the time, ten years afterwards, when I was in the First Class of Roxbury Latin and saw *The Circus* I had become aware that to admire Chaplin (no longer to be referred to as Charlie) was to be intellectual.

The last picture of his I saw was *The Great Dictator*, the first in which he doffed his tramp *alter ego*, and which I found a great decline. He makes out that it took a great deal of civic courage to have made a picture belittling Hitler in 1940. Actually it took little or none. I cannot think of any intellectually responsible person in the United States who had any use for Hitler at that time, although there were admittedly a few hard-headed business tycoons who talked of our having to come to terms with him eventually. The trouble with *The Great Dictator* was that Charlie's message ran away with his art. I thought then, as I still do, that Charlie was getting to the end of his line.

On looking back it seems to me that he was at his artistic apogee in two-reelers. Sentimentality (his

My Autobiography, by Charles Chaplin. Simon and Schuster, $6.95

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These pieces have appeared in recent issues of Newsweek...

"Mop Tops"

"Beatlemania has been pegged, by the sociologically inclined, as a protest against the adult world, but the grownups have it backward: the Beatle appeal is positive, not negative. They give kids a chance to let off steam and adults a chance to let off disapproval."

From a recent Newsweek Music column.

"Play it Cool"

"Throughout his five years in office, de Gaulle has ruled like a benevolent despot. He is the twentieth century's greatest, and perhaps only true, disciple of Machiavelli—telling one thing to one visitor, the opposite to another, and playing the first off against the second."

From a recent Newsweek story.

"...a therapeutic rape..."

"This part of the entertainment is bathed in a slurping sentimentality which gives way to outlandish violence when the nurse counterattacks. In fast order, one of her victimized patients cuts his throat, ol' Mac tries to treat her to a therapeutic rape, is condemned to a prefrontal lobotomy, then smothered to death by a friend to save him from a vegetable existence. Only the audience is worse served."

From a recent Newsweek Theater column.

"The Good Non-Life"

"For breakfast he has non-caffeine coffee, meatless sausage, and the day's first nicotine-free cigarette. At the office he sits behind a non-working desk—a drawerless, paper-free form intended to look like a coffee table. At home his wife has her wig, her false eyelashes, and her suntan from a bottle. His children are in school echoing the latest homilies of the teacherless teaching machine. After class his daughter practices the current non-dance, an over-all tremor requiring no movement of the feet. This is today's surrogate world, where a man can have his cake substitute (made without butter) and eat it too."

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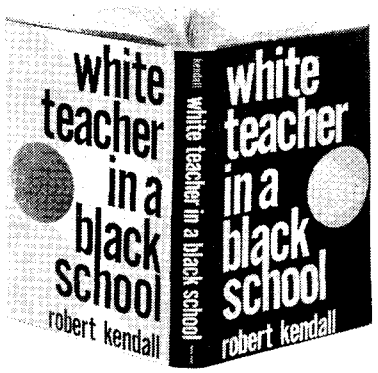

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by **Robert Kendall**

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weakness) had a way of treacling in afterwards, blind flower girls, sermonizing dictators and the rest. Even *The Gold Rush* is slightly tarnished with it. Those early makeshifts, produced *ad lib* in a week or two, were his real achievement. What he did in them was to create a new and unique figure in the tradition of the *commedia dell' arte*. To Harlequin and Columbine and Pierrot and Pantaloon he added Charlot. Charlie tripped onto the celluloid stage just as it became the world stage. A generation earlier would probably have seen him ending up as a three-a-day vaudeville artist; instead the mass image of Charlot the irrepressible comic flashed in shadow round the world. We laughed and somehow we were the better for it. As Unamuno said of Don Quixote, Charlot was somehow the fool who by his folly makes us wise. It made him overnight a rich international celebrity.

IT NEVER OCCURRED to us in 1918 that there might have been an ordinary human being hidden behind the stylized little tramp. Nor would we have cared if we had learned it. For, going by Chaplin's autobiography, the man behind the mime is of no abounding interest. He has indeed met everyone of note from 1916 on, from Pavlova ("'Pav' as her friends called her") and Nijinsky to H. G. Wells, Shaw, the Prince of Wales, Churchill and several hundred more. Through *My Autobiography* the names fall like a shower of old calling cards, yet one learns very little about the persons to whom they are attached.

By far the best and most moving parts of Chaplin's book are the early chapters when he tells how he lived in a London slum interspersed with stays in English workhouses. His father was a wandering music hall player, an alcoholic; his mother, a brave and indomitable little person who struggled with her fate until she was overwhelmed. Chaplin's mother is the most living character in his life history and he writes best when he writes about the years they lived and struggled together. This writing has tenderness as well as bitterness. I was reminded of *Son of London*, by Chaplin's friend Thomas Burke. By the time I finished these chapters I decided that Chaplin was a better writer than I had anticipated. The later chapters made me realize I was wrong. When the emotions of the

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What Price Craftsmanship?

by
Julian P. Van Winkle, Jr.,
President
Old Fitzgerald Distillery
Louisville, Kentucky
Established 1849

Years ago my father patronized a tailor who was acknowledged to make the finest clothes in Louisville.

Everything suited Dad except the high price. During a fitting he took occasion to complain. "I understand the tailor across the street makes a mighty nice suit. And he charges $20 less than you."

"You're quite right," the tailor agreed, "and they say he makes *nice warm* clothes too!"

By rights Dad should have been the last to complain. The expert craftsmanship required to snugly fit "suit" to "man" is matched in no field more specialized than his own and by no man more than by himself.

For three generations, in his tenure as well as my own, our family distillery has patiently tailored our OLD FITZGERALD to fit the man who knows how genuine Kentucky Bourbon ought to taste.

"Custom-cut and hand-made", its cost can never match its "ready-made" competition.

Using our old-fashioned sour-mash recipe, we purposely sacrificed one full quart of Bourbon for each bushel of grain mashed. Our fermenters ripen at a snail's pace. We distill, then re-distill to capture the congenerics which give OLD FITZGERALD its distinctive flavor.

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Admittedly, less than such costly care would still produce "nice, warm" acceptable Bourbon. If *whiskey* is all you want, it can be had for far less.

But in matching the style and fit of genuine Kentucky sour mash at its old-fashioned best, our century-and-more of distilling experience has yet to uncover a money-saving short cut.

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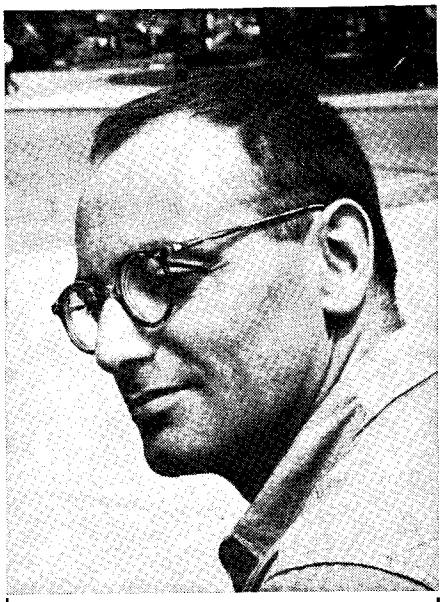
London years left, so did Chaplin's style. Two examples of a kind that might be used as warnings to a class in "creative writing" will suffice. Of his first days at the Mack Sennett studio he writes: "The 'he man' atmosphere of the studio would have been almost intolerable but for the pulchritudinous influence. Mabel Normand's presence, of course, graced the studio with glamor." With success our hero arrives in New York and "having skimmed over the surface of New York society, I now desired to penetrate the intellectual subcutaneous tissue of Greenwich Village."

Then there are distortions and plain misstatements. It may be a matter of opinion whether the FDR thirties were "the most inspiring era in American history," or whether the theory of surplus value is the golden key to the universe, but it is a matter of fact that there were never fourteen million people unemployed in 1928. Chaplin writes that his troubles with the government and the "witch-hunters" began in 1942 when he "courageously" substituted for former Ambassador Davies at a Russian War Relief rally. In those Mission-to-Moscow days it took little enough courage to stand up and yell for Uncle Joe and the Second Front. Yet that is the only explanation Chaplin gives for his later shift to the Left. I think myself that the shift was less because of persecution on theories of surplus value than the desire of a man of thin education and little reading to get himself accepted as an intellectual. He, whose normal level was Marion Davies, thereby found himself the peer of Hanns Eisler and Bertold Brecht. Left of center does it, as Wyndham Lewis remarked long ago.

IN ANY CASE the questions most of us would formulate in advance are never answered. His three marriages, his alleged promiscuity, are passed over, almost pushed aside. What was his intellectual development? What was his real relation with the Left, and why? Does he know himself? Apparently his greatest anxiety on shaking America's dust from his feet was that he might be restricted in taking his fortune with him.

Now, with his child-wife grown up and his eight children, he lives in his Swiss seclusion near Lake Leman at the Manoir de Ban that from its photograph looks as if it might once



Speaking Up . . .

Ernest van den Haag, a practicing psychoanalyst as well as a scholar and a writer, will accept invitations now to lecture and debate around the country this Winter.

A professor of social philosophy at New York University and lecturer at the New School for Social Research, Dr. van den Haag has written for Harper's, Partisan Review, Commentary, Commonweal and National Review.

Your university or club can also write now for openings in the Winter schedules of our other speakers: L. Brent Bozell, attorney; Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of National Review and editor of *In Defense of Freedom;* Thomas Molnar, writer and spokesman for the conservative position; Russell Kirk, syndicated columnist, editor, professor of politics; Wm. F. Rickenbacker, editor; Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, professor of politics, lecturer and author; and Wm. A. Rusher, publisher of National Review and former counsel to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

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have housed Madame de Staël and Benjamin Constant. Chaplin intends to live out the eighteenth century there and to live a long time at it. I wish him well, just as long as I don't have to read about it. For myself I have never got beyond Charlie in Andersen's Mattapan Theater in 1918.

Elbow Room for the Eye

D. J. STEWART

THE FIRST READING of these essays and reflections—written between 1936 and 1964—was, for this reviewer, not easy. For one thing, when a writer of fiction turns to the essay, he often stays a good jump ahead of the professional pedant. For another thing, the first pieces are a bit early for someone whose *father* was too young for the Lost Generation. But then a vagrant memory capriciously juxtaposed certain passages, to produce a surprising effect:

Occasions and Protests, by John Dos Passos. Regnery, $4.95

> Taste and hearing have their importance but sight is the basic sense.
>
> The prime discoveries are more likely to be made by solitary individuals, who have managed by hook or crook to find the elbow room they need to look about them, and the self-sufficiency they need to observe their world objectively. . . . Observing objectively demands a sort of virginity of the perceptions.
>
> Before we can start even to suggest the readjustments needed to assure fresh elbow room for the individual we must manage to see the shape of our society as clearly as Harvey saw the heart of the shrimp.
>
> . . . they tried with keen transatlantic eyes to penetrate every detail of the green countryside which was like home to them yet not like home.
>
> Truth is always discovery. The discoverers are people who see the thing before they name it.

The first passage (almost a quotation from Plato's *Timaeus*) is from an essay introducing a volume of drawings by George Grosz; the next two, from "Essays in Individuality"; the fourth describes Adams and Jefferson touring England in 1786 (the vignette is somehow worked into an essay on "England under a Labor Government"); the last occurs in *The Modern Age*. This startling emphasis on vision, on seeing clear, rounded, individual *shapes* of things (the word is typical of the author's taste in metaphor) then provides a kind of touchstone wherewith to re-read and better understand what these pieces are about. For they are —even those ostensibly reportorial— essentially the reactions to life of a man who uses his eyes intensely and voraciously, one who lives with and through his vision. Dos Passos wants to see a thing before naming it, and sometimes refuses to name it at all. Whether inquiring into the trade of writing, or detailing the corruption in some unions, interviewing bigwigs in government, or speculating on the nature of self-government, he treats all questions and frames all recommendations in terms of a kind of visual positivism.

Philosophers and psychologists both can demonstrate, one supposes, that Western man has built around himself what is almost exclusively an eye-culture, which may or may not produce one-sidedness in our natures. But Dos Passos senses that we use our eyes little enough, and derive few enough analogous mental lessons from our vision: even if we have an eye-culture, we don't even do a good job with what we have. The ear is a great blender of its data, but to the eye its natural objects are singular.

John Dos Passos

hard-lined, exclusive, and individual. This emphatic "visualism," I think, explains and expresses the author's passion for the individual, for giving man as *subject* of perception room to use it to see through and around things, and for giving man as *object* of perception room to develop all those unique features of character and attainment which will mark him in the eye of the beholder as something all the more knowable.

Hence, too, the author's social negatives. He is less a factionalist, whether now a shade conservative, or once a bit Liberal, than an enemy of anything that blurs or distorts the unique *shape* of men's being and thought, whether it be bureaucracy, mass-communication (really, mass-anything), the anonymous power of wealth or organization, or any kind of uniformity foisted on men to make them more manageable. Finally, he reveals himself as something of a pragmatist, a despiser of codified substitutes for thought, and a believer in the need for live thinking to attack the immediate problem:

> No matter how narrow a set of convictions you start from, you will find yourself, in your effort to probe into men and events, less and less able to work within the prescriptions of doctrine; and you will find more and more that you are on the side of the men, women and children alive right now against all the political organizations, however magnificent their aims may be, that regiment and bedevil them.
>
> If all the monopolies folded up overnight, or if their bosses converged on Washington and seized the government, as they've occasionally been on the edge of doing in one way or another, the next morning we would still face the problem of politics. Would the men who held power want to induce the others to behave in groups with a minimum rather than a maximum expenditure of force?

His view of society is not that of one party or one faith; he deals scorn open-handedly wherever he finds blinders and blurred vision. Looking hard at man, "an institution-building animal," his desire is to balance the claims of order and system with the need of the individual for elbow room. Usually the claims of system are pared down or denied.

The contents deal with a great range of subjects—private occasions, like a kind word for Robert Oppenheimer, and public protests against the brainless operation of organization. This is no place to summarize, and there is no need to judge conclusions, which are anyhow less important than the Dos Passos method:

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four parts open-eyes receptiveness to fact ("Astonishment is a wonderful stimulus to thought") and the rest keen-eyed attention to the target:

> The state of mind of the dispassionate observer [of society] is somewhat analogous to the hunter's. . . . Really good shots, the fellows who really bring down the quail, are people who are able to forget who they are and become for the moment just an eye and an ear and a gun.

To the Anthill With Love

THOMAS MOLNAR

JESUITS I MET in East Asia who had known Fr. Teilhard for years in China, agreed that he was a charming man with a somewhat flighty and superficial mind, easily carried away by sentiment and imagination. This would still leave him a good priest and a man of good will; as a philosopher, however, he hardly qualifies except in an age which asks not for truth but for "vision."

Teilhard had vision, plenty of it, enough to make him a science-fiction writer of the first order. Unfortunately, his hobby was not story-telling but philosophy, the kind that is studded with statements like: "It is Mankind as a whole, collective humanity, which is called upon to perform the definitive act whereby the total force of terrestrial evolution will be released and flourish." Whatever this means, it has very little to do with exact observation, precise thinking, and reasonable inference.

Teilhard's previously translated works and the present collected essays read like speeches at, let's say, UNESCO-sponsored commencement exercises or at the opening of the nth Conference on General Disarmament.

The Future of Man, **by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Harper, $5.00**

As serious reading, his work is on the level of a much-read but moonstruck student's term paper, profusely marked on the margin by his professor: "Explain! — meaning (?) — Supply facts in support of this statement."

I do not mean to be frivolous. The fact that Teilhard is neither a competent theologian, nor a scientist, but an *enthusiast* (in the Knoxian sense), does not diminish his importance as a major source of pernicious influence in this century. He cannot be dismissed, because in the short decade since his death he has acquired fanatical disciples who preach his ungraspable, Protean "vision" in magazines, in seminaries, and at cocktail parties; and he has achieved this distinction because he has put man's

Teilhard de Chardin

permanent Utopian aspirations into contemporary jargon. Later ages will class him with the heresiarchs, Utopians, and other totalitarians, with the Gnostics, Pelagius, the Cathari, Rousseau and Karl Marx.

The Utopian always believes that former ages were inspired by the devil (or matter, or error), and claims to have discovered the only true key to mankind's happiness (purity, spirituality, truthfulness). Great or dramatic events (wars, epidemics, spectacular inventions) seem to him to be signs of a new mankind emerging. Thus he is not discouraged or sobered by suffering and horror around him; on the contrary, he sees in them omens that the times are out of joint, and *therefore* ripe for a decisive change. In the eyes of Teilhard, for example, totalitarian regimes are merely evolutionary efforts to bring about mankind's "totalization"; and "this tremendous war which so afflicts us, this remolding, this universal longing for a new order, what are they but the shock, the tremor and the crisis, beyond which we may glimpse a more synthetic organization of the human world?" One is reminded of another Utopian, Bertrand Russell, urging mankind after 1918 to "abolish selfishness and become creative like artists and scientists."

The Utopian pattern of thought is singularly uniform throughout the ages, but each Utopian is also motivated by contemporary conditions. What is the chief motivation in Teilhard's writings?

Since the end of the nineteenth century Western (academic) philosophy has been so abstract, and so irrelevant to real issues (*e.g.* logical positivism), that thinkers have sought refuge in more or less morbid doctrines about existence, civilizations, and history. There is even a line of philosophers impressed by our biological fate, the line of Herbert Spencer and Henri Bergson, who saw evolution as possibly ending in a human anthill. Teilhard has his place in this line; his position may be stated thus: biological and cosmic forces (Bergson's *élan vital*) drive us toward the anthill with its population pressure, planetary communications system, world government. In order to avoid a mechanized unity, "we can do no other than plunge resolutely forward, even though something in us perish, into the melting-pot of socialization." In other words, the anthill is inevitable; but by adding to it large doses of "consummated human Thought," "love," and "super-morality," mankind in Year Omega may find itself at the Apex of the Evolutionary Cone, united with a just emerging Super-Christ.

These lucubrations appeal to all those who, in good faith, are scared of the anthill and its leader, Big Brother, and to all those who, in bad faith, promote collectivization and folksy slosh about everybody being a nice guy. To various and sundry, Teilhard appeals with dicta in the best style of Moral Rearmament: "It is not a *tête-à-tête* or a *corps-à-corps* we need but a heart-to-heart."

In spite of all the talk about "super-Christianity" and "conspiracy informed with love," Teilhard's totalitarianism is of the most intolerant kind. He is in line with the modern fashion of first flattering mankind for having reached "adulthood," then expecting it to surrender its supposedly increased spirituality to "so-

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cial concentration." His arguments follow a most dishonest pattern, the kind caricatured by Chesterton, which would oblige us to cut off our legs in the expectation that we will grow wings to fly with. The fact is that there is no united mankind now; there are (as there have always been) warring nations, races, and ideologies. But one who, observing history and human nature, strives for limited, possible ends and temporary peace, exposes himself to Teilhard's charges that he is against mankind and disregards evolution, which is working towards a "convergent world."

Needless to say, one look around the globe tells us that there is no sign that mankind is on the threshold of the Grand Option (another of Teilhard's terms, smelling of MRA prose). The fact that he extols our "maturity" is indicative only of his and his fellow collectivists' impatience. They believe we are ripe to enter the anthill; and veiled threats are not lacking for the recalcitrant individualist. "A passionate longing to grow, to be, is what we need," he rhapsodizes in another passage. "There can be no place for the poor in spirit, the skeptics, the pessimists, the sad of heart, the weary and the immobilists."

STRANGE TALK from a priest; but strange also from an observer of the contemporary scene. While Teilhard pays his naive obeisance to the "new type of men: scientists, thinkers, airmen" because they seek out each other and long to communicate, contemporary artists, novelists, playwrights, and philosophers shed tears over man's absurd existence and the complete lack of communication among self-immured human monads. Granted, these writers are morbid maniacs of an empty universe. But are Teilhard and his brood less pessimistic? Teilhard's popularity derives from the superficial impression that he encourages mankind to seek higher horizons. In reality, he distrusts the individual, and looks for reassurance to an ever vaster social body he wants to endow, he says, with a "common soul." His evolutionism is only a cheap way of putting "scientific" and "spiritual" varnish on the Utopian desire for everything to coalesce. Under the spiritual clothing we hear the collectivist howl: "Despite the compressive and unifying conditions to which we are subject, Mankind is still made up of terribly heterogeneous parts, unequally matured, whose democratization can be effected only with the use of imagination and suppleness."

This is the kind of threat that made Bernanos, a better prophet than his compatriot, once write: "One day I may yet be shot by a Bolshevik priest!"

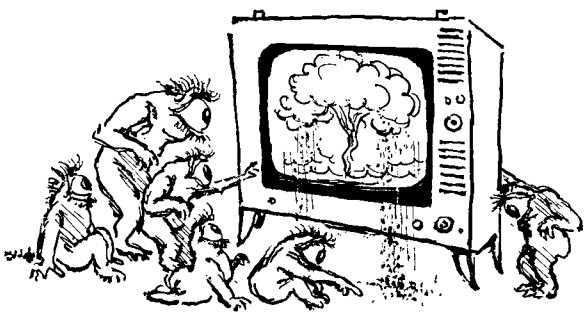
Science Fiction

Anyone for .....?

THEODORE STURGEON

HEREWITH bridge, cum War III and time travel; chess with automation; and finally, that game of games, commerce.

Grandmaster (in science fiction, if not in bridge) Robert Heinlein has produced yet another of his crisp, swift, assured fictions, and takes us thereby through an atomic holocaust,



some forthright sex, a couple thousand years into the future, a feudal civilization complete with slaves (handled rather as if slaveholding is as much of an advance as technology and medicine) and at last back to the present—at least, to *a* present. Bridge, and bridge strategy, is present and commanding throughout; its introduction to a satrap of the future society is the jolliest thing since the Connecticut Yankee ran that locomotive through King Arthur's court.

Only Heinlein could pull this kind of thing off successfully and it is arguable whether he has this time. Of the many themes in this book, one emerges, and one wonders if the author knows it. One remembers that, apparently unknown to H. G. Wells, that early master stated by every one of his science fiction novels that a single simple event, if drastic enough, could change all of humanity and make it forswear war; but each of his drastic events, for all the illimits of fantasy, was impossible in fact. Heinlein here gives all but definitive proof that the bomb-shelter, and all that it implies, adequately fits a man for a "freehold" — some thousands of acres surrounding a crossroads store which flies, in effect, the "Don't Tread On Me" ensign. But what such strength, skill and foresight could do toward survival in (or of) such a world as ours, deponent sayeth not. Perhaps he has given up on us.

Fritz Leiber is, by the evidence of one of the tales in his new collection, certainly a chessplayer, and his description of the international tournament which first introduces a computer as a participant will please even a non-player and absolutely delight the addict of what he calls "The 64-Square Madhouse." One of the best aspects of the best of science fiction is its ability to extrapolate—to extend the known by logic and come up with a prediction. Such a machine as his Machine will surely come; and when it does, the game will never be the same again . . . and the game will go on, as has baseball with the rabbit ball, vaulting with glass poles, landspeed trials with jet cars.

But the chess story is by no means all you get in this worthy package. Leiber, a topflight writer in any category, gives us satire and sadness, hilarity, suspense and shock in stories like "Bread Overhead," a fable of the advertising industry, "The Nice Girl With Five Husbands" (a great title,

Farnham's Freehold, by Robert A. Heinlein. Putnam, $4.95

A Pail of Air, by Fritz Leiber. Ballantine U2216, 50¢

Trader to the Stars, by Poul Anderson. Doubleday, $3.50

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that, and a good yarn) and the justly famous and quite horrifying glimpse into a probable future, "Coming Attraction."

Poul Anderson's beefy, beery, big-brained van Rijn, merchant adventurer extraordinary, stars in three long novelettes — good ones — and proves for all time that when science fiction's sachem of swashbuckle sets out to write a story, he thinks first. He thinks clear across the spectrum—chemistry, physics, astronomy, biology; cultural ecology, history and psychology—on micro- and macrocosmic terms. Add many a bloody fight and flight, a clear and sometimes edged view of human societies and motivations, and you have what's given Anderson his high status in the field. The long view—that is, considerations not on the biographical scale but on the historical and geological scales—is not only refreshing: it's vital. There is literally no other way in which humanity can be made to realize, and therefore made to prevent, the tragic repetition of its own errors. Or, for that matter, the true bases of its recurrent triumphs. "Bah! Governments is dayflies. Any change of ideology, of mood, even, and poof goes your project. But private action, where everybody concerned is needful to everybody else's income, that's stable. Politics, they come and go, but greed goes on forever," says greedy van Rijn.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

WHITE TEACHER IN A BLACK SCHOOL, by Robert Kendall (Devin-Adair, $4.95). Robert Kendall spent two years teaching English in a 90 per cent Negro school in Los Angeles. He volunteered for the assignment because he felt he could help the underprivileged children he would be teaching. But although warned what it would be like, he was unprepared not only for the filthy mouthed, filthy mannered, violent, retarded and perverted children he taught, but even more for the callous disregard of the existing situation shown by every school administrator and educationist he encountered. The boy who threw a knife at Mr. Kendall was sent to "Social Adjustment" and Kendall was called on the carpet for allowing conduct that might give the school a bad name. When Kendall protested that a boy who was so severely retarded that at the age of fourteen he crawled into the classroom on his hands and knees, should be sent to a special school, he was told: that's none of your business, just see he gets a passing grade. Mr. Kendall is a very angry young man. And his anger is directed more at the school principals and administrators who put up with the situation than with the children who made his life hell. *Highly recommended for the sanctimonious.* Perhaps the mother who doesn't want her child bused to a predominantly Negro school is not a racist; perhaps she just doesn't want her ten-year-old exposed to the first words Robert Kendall heard when he walked into his new school: "You don't call my mother no whore and get by with it, you dirty sonofabitch!" P. L. BUCKLEY

VIETNAM, *An Eye-witness Account,* by Suzanne Labin (Crestwood Books, $1.50). It's all here. The whole, awful story (minus of course the death twitches of the past several months) of the Vietnam tragedy. A "tragedy," that is, with respect to the focal point of the book and the Vietnam story generally: the assassination of the Diem Government, after its dedicated, agonized struggle to reform and remould the conglomerate of disparate and helpless Indochinese into a *nation.* A nation which successfully parried a Communist monolith, and a nation which had just discovered itself as a viable, free people. Miss Labin is both French, and a woman —which accounts for the excesses of her documentary (overdrawn syllogisms, pages spotted with boldface, capitalized and italicized harangues, and so on). None of these instances of hyperbole particularly bothered me; nor does her black-and-white view of the over-all politico-military picture in Vietnam. We are, after all, at war in Indochina. And in war there is the enemy, and your ally. You back the ally to the hilt—and leave worrying about social-working his problems (if at all) for peacetime. (Unless we're to be off on another binge to make the world safe for democracy, that is.) And it is the case against our doing just this that Miss Labin so concisely states.

J. G. CAMPAIGNE JR.

THE SILENT MIAOW, by Paul Gallico, with photographs by Suzanne Szasz (Crown, $3.95). This is a must for all cat lovers. Mr. Gallico has "translated from the feline" Cica's manual for kittens, strays, and homeless cats, which gives them the low-down on how to take over human beings. Oddly enough, as Cica realizes, people will be delighted by the recital of how they've been had. It is definitive on cat psychology, and uncommonly shrewd on the male and female of the human species. The accompanying "picture story" can't miss, because, as Cica immodestly observes, it is very difficult for a cat to be other than "exquisitely graceful." Ailurophobes needn't bother, but those who think they are just neutral should test themselves on this one.

E. MERRITT

ANYTHING THAT'S PEACEFUL, by Leonard E. Read (Foundation for Economic Education, $3.50; paper $2.50). Although the subtitle is "The Case for the Free Market," this collection of neatly dovetailed essays delves to other depths than the economic. Leonard Read's steady preoccupation with the meaning of individuality, the meaning of morality, the meaning of liberty, and the beneficent conspiracy of all these with the free market, for the health and prosperity of the commonwealth, is here given its clearest and most cogent expression. I'd as soon give away the dénouement of a detective tale as mention Mr. Read's proposal for electoral reform; suffice to say that here, as elsewhere, he displays that innocent bravado that everyone finds admirable in the lad who said the king wasn't wearing any clothes. The high spot, for me, is Read's argument for abolishing the federal monopoly on carrying messages between people (sometimes called the Post Office). "What?" you will say, "abolish the monopoly Post Office? Why?" Study Chapter 14. Then ask, as I do, "Why not?" W. F. RICKENBACKER

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 1040)

The Trib and the GOP

In the interest of pedantry may I point out to Mr. Denis Brogan that neither the *Herald Tribune* nor the NATIONAL REVIEW asserted that the *Herald Tribune* "has always supported the Republican Party at Presidential elections since the party was founded" ["To the Editor," Nov. 17].

The *Herald Tribune*'s editorial supporting President Johnson simply said that it was doing so "as a newspaper that was Republican before there was a Republican Party, has been Republican ever since and will remain Republican." On Oct. 7, an article on the editorial page recited in detail the paper's political history, with particular emphasis on the support of Greeley in 1872.

The NATIONAL REVIEW, on Oct. 20, said that the *Herald Tribune* "has declared for the Democratic candidate after having supported Republicans in every other Presidential election since its founding 124 years ago." This is quite accurate; Greeley, although he bucked the regular nominee of the party, was so much a Republican that the Democrats gave him little more than formal indorsement.

New York, N.Y. HARRY W. BAEHR
New York Herald Tribune

Pleased

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I forward to you a check to cover my current subscription, since I believe that your magazine will continue to reflect an accurate appraisal of current events, and to clearly distinguish between fact and

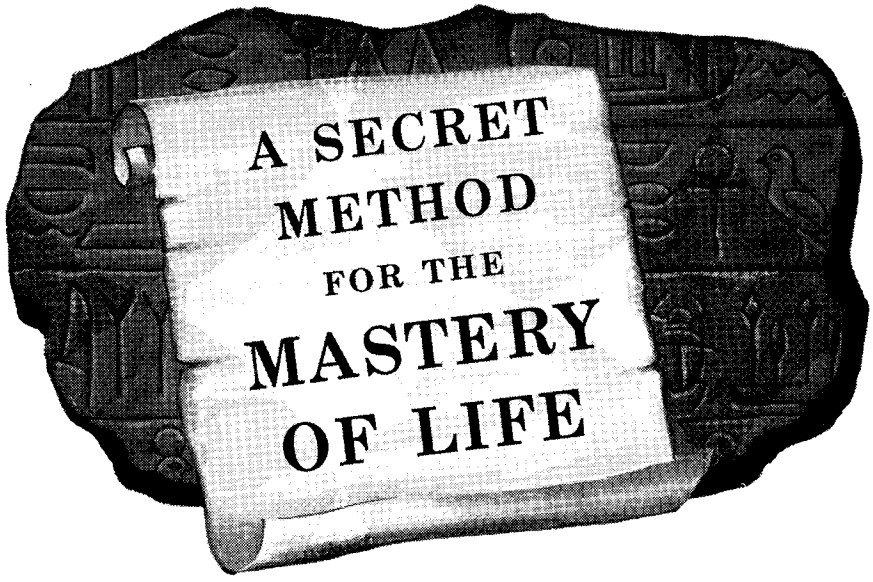
SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (November 17)

Doctor [John H.] Watson
[THE ADVENTURE OF]
THE EMPTY HOUSE

The individual represents in his development the whole procession of his ancestors, and . . . a sudden turn to good or evil stands for some strong influence which came into the line of his pedigree. The person becomes . . . the epitome of the history of his own family.

(words of Sherlock Holmes)

Knowledge That Has Endured With The Pyramids



WHENCE came the knowledge that built the Pyramids and the mighty Temples of the Pharaohs? Civilization began in the Nile Valley centuries ago. Where did its first builders acquire their astounding wisdom that started man on his upward climb? Beginning with naught they overcame nature's forces and gave the world its first sciences and arts. Did their knowledge come from a race now submerged beneath the sea, or were they touched with Infinite inspiration? From what concealed source came the wisdom that produced such characters as Amenhotep IV, Leonardo da Vinci, Isaac Newton, and a host of others?

Today it is known that they discovered and learned to interpret certain *Secret Methods* for the development of their inner power of mind. They learned to command the inner forces within their own beings, and to master life. This secret art of living has been preserved and handed down throughout the ages. Today it is extended to those who dare to use its profound principles to meet and solve the problems of life in these complex times.

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Professor Wilhelm Roepke
Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva (Dr. Roepke's teachings are credited by President Ludwig Erhard as principally responsible for guiding the postwar economic recovery of West Germany)

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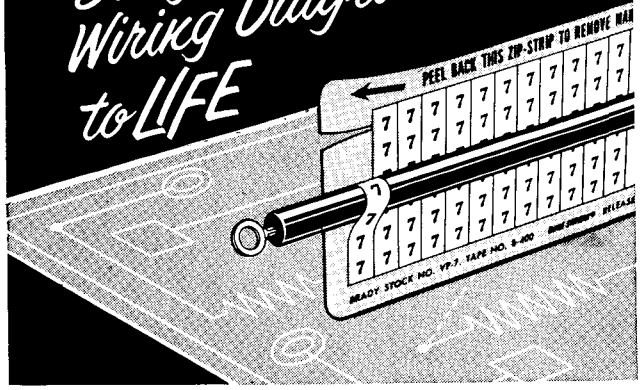

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opinion, without the editorial slanting that has crept into other national publications. Your handling of the very emotional Jenkins issue ("Jenkins and the Public Concern," Nov. 3) is an excellent case in point.

Easton, Pa. GRAHAM K. JOHNSON

False Alarm

With all due respect: if you will check with the Post Office Dept. you will find that you and Congressman Gross (I think it was) are both wrong about the alleged Post Office caper of spending $500,000 for pictures of LBJ and the PMG for pinning up in the nation's post offices [Nov. 3]. Information I have says this particular whodunit originated with columnist Rhoulac Hamilton and has since been largely repudiated by him as not so.

W. Palm Beach, Fla. JAMES N. BRICE

Curious

I am curious about why "liberal" is spelled with a capital "L," while "conservative" is spelled with a small "c."

Negro Liberals are capitalized, it seems, while white conservatives are not. It seems very strange to constantly encounter this sort of discrimination.

At any rate, *I* should like to be referred to as a White Conservative.

New York, N.Y. HELYN MALSBERGER

Very well. Every time we refer to Miss Malsberger, White Conservative it is. —ED.

REPORT

(Continued from p. 1056)

dedicated, clearheaded people as its new foundation. In other words: it must be a conservative party, just as under the impact of the New Deal, it became and remained Liberal from Willkie to Eisenhower. But the Republican Party, the coalition, will be re-built. Liberals probably will have to learn some of the same kind of toleration which they demanded of the conservatives for twenty years. Other elements, farmers, suburbanites, Negroes, businessmen will find their places waiting as the inevitable disappointments of the Johnson Administration will bring home to them the terrible mistake of their voting in 1964. For the new Republican Party will continue to be a choice, not an echo.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Turning point in U. S. history (several wds.).	6 152 48 27 191 206 96 193 31 120
	143 171 172 173
B. Religion of Haiti's Negroes.	224 98 32 132 70 134 170 12 62
C. Dwelling; also anagram of type of dwelling.	35 133 71 215 63
D. Scapegoat for day crew (2 wds.).	38 149 229 101 13 114 220 180 49 232
E. Type of fireworks (pl.).	75 33 106 43 50 144 93 126 155 14
F. There ought to be nearly 200,000,000 of these in U. S.	100 107 135 231 222 163 64 81 34 2
	15 154
G. Child's plaything.	156 175 82 226 95 233 164 36 181 44
H. Type of philosophy.	178 188 3 158 45 37 52 199 145 28
	16 203 167 121
I. Congressman from N.Y. (1949-51), chairman N. Y. State Rep. Committee (1949-53).	80 141 131 189 196 211 213 150
J. An estimate for taxing property.	128 4 89 216 190 9 235 225 176 182
K. House member from Pennsylvania.	159 39 46 108 230 157 146 53
L. An odd number of veneer sheets glued together.	21 17 5 40 54 122 174

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
M. Item used to help put the game on ice (2 wds.).	57 165 65 72 102 186 123 177 18 148
	136
N. Famous labor leader's middle name.	68 204 187 90 201 73 83 195 19
O. These are held in physicians' offices and halls of education.	91 179 7 127 66 55 160 183 74 168
	103 137
P. Dickybird.	110 84 56 105 138 94 115 192 219
Q. Motto of California.	153 228 8 58 166 67
R. Supplements (vb); usually with 'out.'	185 109 92 218
S. Foul blows are struck in this type of contest (2 wds.).	198 207 210 85 76 104 217 142 111 20
	41 124
T. Part of academic building.	209 59 200 22 197 194 88 221 227 112
U. What beer drinkers like.	212 42 169 116 23 205 77
V. Town, Kingsbury County, South Dakota.	234 117 202 60 139 125
W. Type of metalworker.	1 24 129 161 61 78 118 184
X. What most federal budgets have been for over three decades.	51 79 10 214 29 223 208 151 87 130
Y. City built by Asshur (Gen. 10:11)	97 11 162 119 30 140 25 86
Z. What anglers like.	99 26 47 69 147 113

See page 1077 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out, it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

1 W	2 F	3 H	4 J	5 L	6 A	7 O	8 Q	9 J	10 X	11 Y	12 B	13 D	14 E	15 F	16 H	17 L
18 M	19 N	20 S	21 L	22 T	23 U	23 W	25 Y	26 Z	27 A	28 H	29 X	30 Y	31 A	32 B	33 E	34 F
35 C	36 G	37 H	38 D	39 K	40 L	41 S	42 U	43 E	44 G	45 H	46 K	47 Z	48 A	49 D	50 E	51 X
52 H	53 K	54 L	55 O	56 P	57 M	58 Q	59 T	60 V	61 W	62 B	63 C	64 F	65 M	66 O	67 Q	68 N
69 Z	70 B	71 C	72 M	73 N	74 O	75 E	76 S	77 U	78 W	79 X	80 I	81 F	82 G	83 N	84 P	85 S
86 Y	87 X	88 T	89 J	90 N	91 O	92 R	93 E	94 P	95 G	96 A	97 Y	98 B	99 Z	100F	101D	102M
103Q	104S	105P	106E	107F	108K	109R	110P	111S	112T	113Z	114D	115P	116U	117V	118W	119Y
120A	121H	122L	123M	124S	125V	126E	127Q	128J	129W	130X	131I	132B	133C	134B	135F	136M
137Q	138P	139V	140Y	141I	142S	143A	144C	145H	146K	147Z	148M	149D	150I	151X	152A	153Q
154F	155E	156G	157K	158H	159K	160Q	161W	162Y	163F	164G	165M	166Q	167H	168Q	169U	170B
171A	172A	173A	174L	175G	176J	177M	178H	179Q	180D	181G	182J	183Q	184W	185R	186M	187N
188H	189I	190J	191A	192P	193A	194T	195N	196I	197T	198S	199H	200T	201N	202V	203H	204N
205U	206A	207S	208X	209T	210S	211I	212U	213I	214X	215C	216J	217S	218R	219P	220D	221T
222F	223X	224B	225J	226G	227T	228Q	229D	230K	231F	232D	233G	234V	235J			

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For The Record

On Nov. 13, the Albanian Government attacked the "modern revisionism" of the new Soviet leaders—shortly after Chou En-lai had left in slight huff for Peking. . . . In far-off Brazil, Luis Carlos Prestes reportedly has been bounced as secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party after 30 years for "right wing deviationism." He is accused of playing along with the Goulart government. . . . Two Chicago businessmen report that the CARE package they sent Nikita Khrushchev, c/o Party Hqs. Moscow, has been returned because of "incorrect address."

Some election postludes: Gov. George Wallace of Alabama reportedly in trouble. According to local reports, Wallace had wanted to switch parties during the election and support Goldwater as a Republican. The GOP high command turned thumbs down on idea and Wallace now finds himself heading a badly mauled Democratic Party. . . . Anybody surprised? In a straw poll of 21 colleges taken before election, Radcliffe (the only women's college on the list) registered the most votes for Lyndon Johnson: 93 per cent. . . . Sen. John Pastore's old-style oratory at Atlantic City, which went over big with the politicians, not so well received by some of his senatorial colleagues. This could prove a disqualifier in three-way Senate race to succeed Hubert Humphrey as Democratic whip. Other candidates: Sens. Russell Long (La.) and Mike Monroney (Okla.), also Liberals in good standing.

Interesting development: Wilfred Burchett, who writes for Communist-leaning National Guardian and spent some time with Vietcong guerrillas last year, says "the U.S.-backed overthrow of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime" was a "wholly unexpected gift" and marked a turning point in the war. "Diem was a national leader," Burchett told Keyes Beech of the Chicago Daily News, "and you will never be able to replace him—never." . . . Australia, in view of deteriorating situations in Vietnam and Malaysia, is beefing up her army. She will re-introduce conscription and raise army from 22,000 to 37,000 men.

With the election safely over, it has been announced that John F. Reilly has been named to $17,000-a-year job with FCC. Reilly was the State Department security officer who resigned a year ago after lying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in the Otto Otepka hearings. He ordered Otepka's phone tapped, then denied he had done so, finally admitted the truth. . . . Despite the Warren report, a Lou Harris poll shows 31 per cent of the people still believe Lee Harvey Oswald received help

Ben Roth Agency

"Always did say you can't trust this Wilson—why, the feller's going to do exactly what he said he would!"

in his assassination of President Kennedy; but 87 per cent believe he was the assassin.

How not to win friends: Charles de Gaulle last week invited visiting Quebec Premier Lesage to a private luncheon in Paris to which Canadian Ambassador Jules Leger was not invited. . . . Charlie Chaplin, knowing that the Soviet Union does not respect international copyright laws, has asked for—and will receive—large quantities of fresh caviar as quid pro quo when the Russians publish his autobiography.

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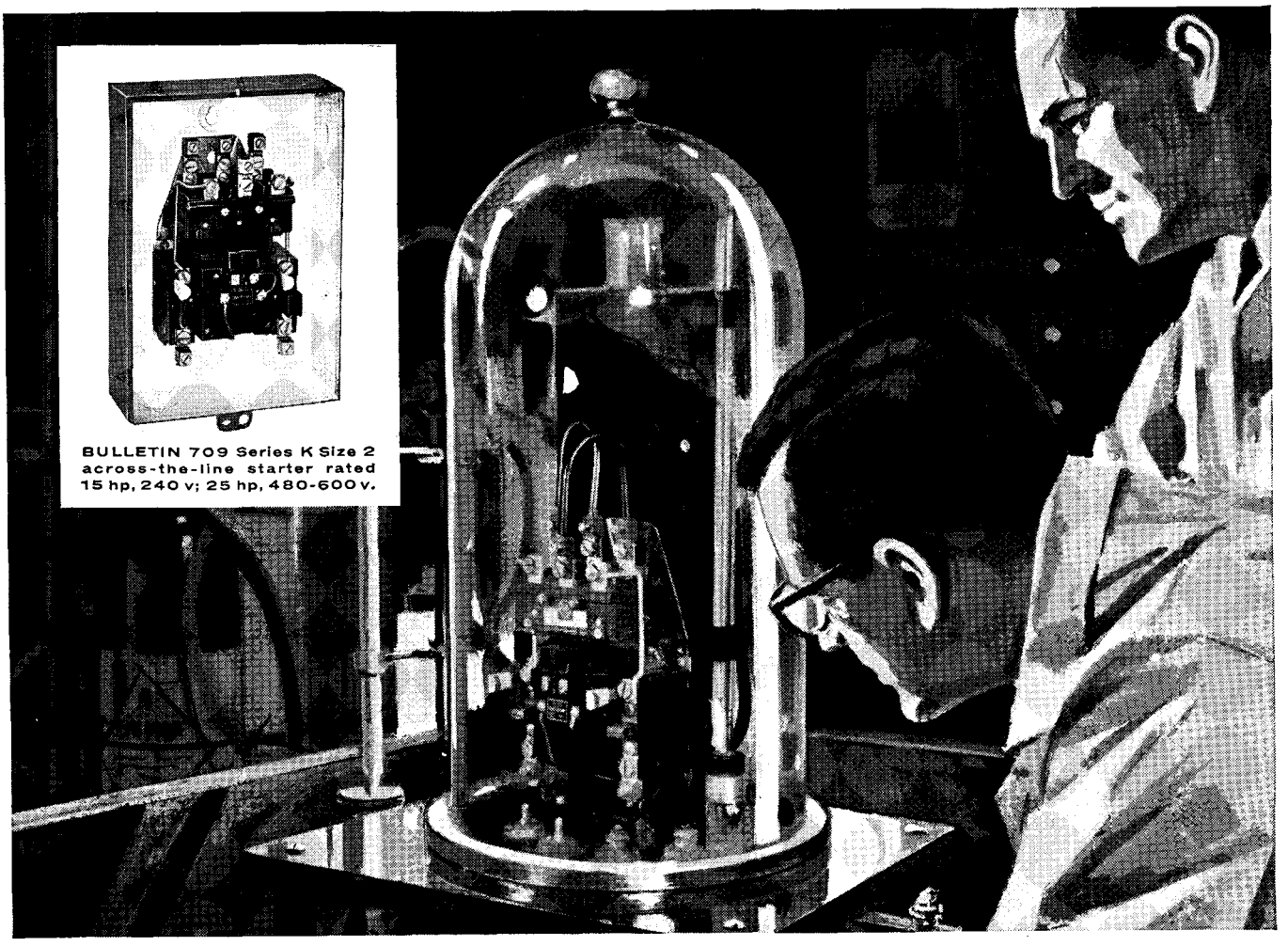

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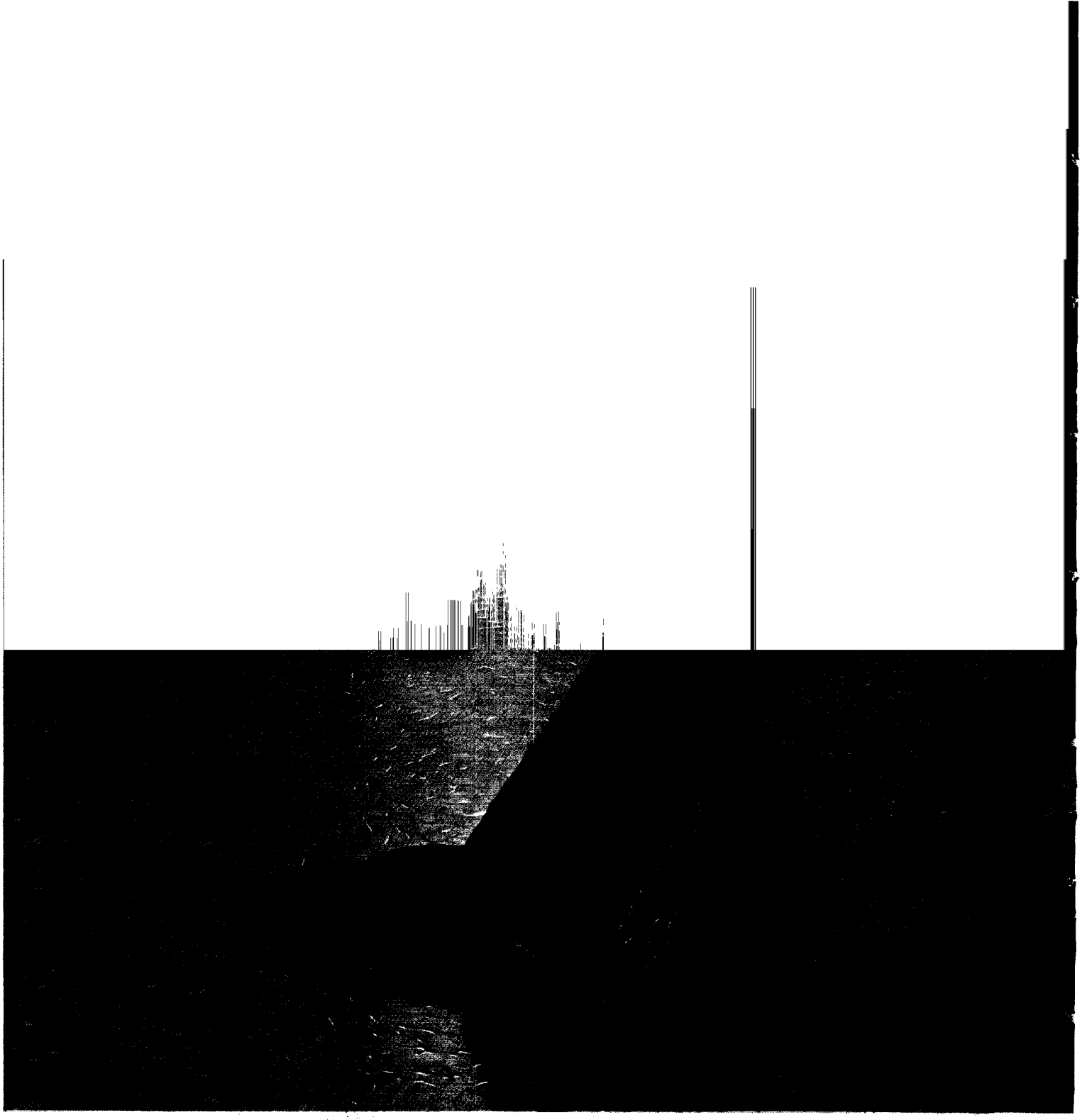

Why advanced winkers prefer to do their tiddly-winking on a Montina Vinyl Corlon Floor

As is always the case with intense and serious games of this nature, experts emerge who find ways to make the games more difficult than they already are.

Which is why advanced winkers play on a Montina Corlon floor.

Montina Corlon, through the design and cunning of its manufacturer, has an extraordinary, nubbly surface texture.

This texture makes the rolling and squopping of winks a matter subject to hazard and chance. Even the most perfectly balanced wink, tiddly-winked with utmost precision, can be caused to waver and falter on Montina's charmingly uneven surface.

The heat of combat is apt to render the players unaware of Montina's beauty, however. This is regrettable, because being beautiful is really the primary purpose of a Montina floor.

It is for the audience, the kibitzers, you and me, to notice the subtle colors of Montina's stone-like vinyl chips . . . to see how Montina, in addition to having texture, has scarcely any seams, wall to wall.

For a free sample of Montina Vinyl Corlon, write Armstrong, 6412 Weston Rd., Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Floor shown: style 86712. Montina and Corlon are registered trademarks of Armstrong Cork Co. Floor design copyrighted by Armstrong.

VINYL FLOORS BY **Armstrong**

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